

# Open Research Online

---

The Open University's repository of research publications and other research outputs

## A critical edition of John Henry Newman's 'Lectures on the present position of Catholics in England' (1851)

### Thesis

#### How to cite:

Nash, Andrew (2000). A critical edition of John Henry Newman's 'Lectures on the present position of Catholics in England' (1851). PhD thesis The Open University.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 2000 The Author



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000e2d6>

---

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's data [policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

---

[oro.open.ac.uk](http://oro.open.ac.uk)

UNRESTRICTED

A CRITICAL EDITION  
OF  
JOHN HENRY NEWMAN'S  
'LECTURES ON THE PRESENT POSITION OF CATHOLICS IN ENGLAND' (1851)

ANDREW NASH, M.A.

VOLUME I  
INTRODUCTION, EDITOR'S NOTES, TEXTUAL APPENDICES & BIBLIOGRAPHY

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the Open University for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy

February 2000

Maryvale Institute

AUTHOR'S NO: P9277359  
DATE OF AWARD: 05 JUNE 2000

## ABSTRACT

This critical edition of John Henry Newman's *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* is comprised of an Introduction, Editor's Notes and Textual Appendices. The text of the lectures themselves is appended separately bound. **Section I** of the **Introduction** draws on recent research to describe both the immediate historical context, the 1850-1 'Papal Aggression' crisis, and the wider background of anti-Catholicism in Britain. **Section II** gives a detailed account of the composition of the text, drawing on Newman's diaries and the extant preparatory material which is transcribed and compared with the published text in **Textual Appendices 2 and 3**. All the textual variants between the first and final editions are listed in full in **Textual Appendix 1**; the significance of these is assessed. **Section III** is a detailed survey of Newman as a satirist, showing the development of common themes in his satire and the relation of *Present Position* to both his earlier and later work. **Section IV** traces the central satirical strategy used in *Present Position*: a drama played out between the Catholic Church and a series of prejudiced opponents who are gradually disarmed. Key passages are analysed in detail. **Section V** analyses and evaluates contemporary reactions to the lectures from primary sources, both Catholic and Protestant. It then gives a comprehensive and detailed survey of critical responses from the death of Newman to the present day and analyses and evaluates them. The **Editor's Notes** give explanations of every historical, contemporary, political, literary, legendary, scriptural, ecclesiastical, theological, hagiographical or other reference in the text. Newman's primary sources are quoted, and all his quotations and references fully elucidated. Parallel passages in his other writings are identified, as are parallels from other sources. The Notes are in effect a commentary on the Lectures, shedding new light on their context and illuminating their meaning.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am immensely grateful to my Principal Supervisor, Dr.Ian Ker, whose own work first made me aware of Newman as a satirist. It was he who supervised my first study of Newman twenty years ago when I was an undergraduate, and he has guided me through my various falterings on this present project with both patience and perception.

I am also grateful to my Second Supervisor, Dr.Tom Woodman who has been most encouraging, especially when, as a part-time student and full-time schoolmaster, I have felt out of touch with the academic world.

I must make special mention of Mr.Gerard Tracey, the Archivist at the Birmingham Oratory. He not only guided me towards relevant archival material but also, by his suggestions and helpful criticisms on the Editor's Notes, acted as an unofficial supervisor.

For practical help chasing up texts, my thanks also to Joanna Bogle and Leo Maidlow-Davis, O.S.B. For consultations on various points, my thanks to Eric Griffiths, Jamie Bogle, Arthur Hill, Kevin Laughton, Tony Tinkel and my wife Dora to whom, along with my children, I also owe an incalculable debt for unwavering support over the years of this project.

For advice and encouragement thanks also to Dr.James Tolhurst. Years ago, when I was a callow Sixth Former, he first introduced me to Newman and to start me off gave me a copy of the *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England*.

My thanks to Mgr.Daniel McHugh, the Director of the Maryvale Institute, my Sponsoring Establishment, which has enabled me to do Newman research as a part-time student.

I acknowledge with gratitude the financial support of the Newman Trust.

Andrew Nash



## CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	3
NOTE ON PUBLICATION.....	6
ABBREVIATIONS.....	7
PREFACE .....	8
A note on the text.....	9
INTRODUCTION.....	10
I. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT.....	10
(a) ‘Papal Aggression’ .....	10
(b) Anti-Catholicism .....	15
(c) The Achilli affair .....	19
II. THE TEXT .....	23
(a) Composition.....	23
(b) Publication and revision .....	27
III. THE SATIRIST.....	33
(a) The British Critic (I): Exeter Hall.....	34
(b) The British Critic (II): Anglican attitudes .....	37
(c) The British Critic (III): Selina, Countess of Huntingdon.....	43
(d) The Tamworth Reading Room .....	46
(e) Catholic satire (I): Loss and Gain.....	51
(f) Catholic satire (II): Anglican Difficulties .....	60
(g) Educational satire: Students and parents .....	62
(h) Catholic satire (III): Callista.....	65
(i) Catholic satire (IV): The Apologia.....	67
IV. THE SATIRE.....	77
(a) John Bull, the Protestant Englishman.....	77
(b) Prejudice and fables.....	82

(c) Prejudice and converts .....	86
(d) The Prejudiced Man .....	89
(e) Prejudice and First Principles .....	96
(f) The insular Englishman.....	99
(g) Prejudice disarmed .....	104
(h) The Achilli ‘confession’ .....	106
V. RECEPTION AND CRITICISM.....	109
(a) Contemporary reactions.....	109
(b) Critical assessments: late 19th to mid-20th century .....	120
(c) Critical assessments: mid-20th century to the present day .....	128
EDITOR’S NOTES.....	146
TEXTUAL APPENDICES .....	314
(a) Appendix 1: Textual Variants.....	314
(b) Appendix 2: Newman’s Preparatory Notes (D.5.16).....	349
(c)Appendix 3: MS D5.5 of Lecture I.....	352
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	357
1. PRIMARY.....	357
(a) Archive Material at the Birmingham Oratory.....	357
(b) Newman Works: .....	360
(c) Other contemporary sources not included among (a):.....	362
2. SECONDARY .....	362
3. REFERENCE.....	365

**N.B. Newman’s text itself is separately bound as Volume II.**

## NOTE ON PUBLICATION

At the time of submission, no part of this thesis has been published. However, some of the work done for this thesis forms the basis of a popular edition of *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* by John Henry Newman which is due to be published by Gracewing in mid-2000. The published version will be a considerably simplified and contracted version for the general reader, omitting large amounts of the Introduction and Editor's Notes.

## ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations listed below for Newman's works are those commonly used in works on Newman, based on those used in Joseph Rickaby, S.J., *Index to the Works of John Henry Cardinal Newman* (London, 1914), supplemented by those used in *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*. For the various editions used, see the Bibliography.

<i>Apo.</i>	<i>Apologia pro Vita Sua</i>
<i>A.W.</i>	<i>Autobiographical Writings</i>
<i>Call.</i>	<i>Callista, A Tale of the Third Century</i>
<i>Campaign</i>	<i>My Campaign in Ireland</i>
<i>D.A.</i>	<i>Discussions and Arguments on Various Subjects</i>
<i>Dev.</i>	<i>An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine</i>
<i>Diff. i, ii</i>	<i>Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching, 2 vols.</i>
<i>Ess. i, ii</i>	<i>Essays Critical and Historical, 2 vols.</i>
<i>G.A.</i>	<i>An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent</i>
<i>H.S. i, ii, iii</i>	<i>Historical Sketches, 3 vols.</i>
<i>Idea</i>	<i>The Idea of a University</i>
<i>L.D.</i>	<i>The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman</i>
<i>L.G.</i>	<i>Loss and gain: the Story of a Convert</i>
<i>Mir.</i>	<i>Two Essays on Biblical and on Ecclesiastical Miracles</i>
<i>O.A.</i>	<i>Birmingham Oratory Archives</i>
<i>O.S.</i>	<i>Sermons preached on Various Occasions</i>
<i>Prepos.</i>	<i>The Present Position of Catholics in England</i>
<i>P.S. i-viii</i>	<i>Parochial and Plain Sermons, 8 vols.</i>
<i>U.S.</i>	<i>Fifteen Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford</i>
<i>V.M. i, ii</i>	<i>The Via Media, 2 vols.</i>
<i>V.V.</i>	<i>Verses on Various Occasions</i>



## PREFACE

In an age in which the Pope has taken tea with the Queen in Buckingham Palace, it is hard for us to realise that the average nineteenth century Englishman was an anti-Catholic bigot. The nation which had invented the Industrial Revolution, which prided itself as being the mother of parliamentary democracy and saw itself as in the vanguard of social progress, was pervasively anti-Catholic. Families listened to sermons in their parish churches in which their highly educated and cultured ministers denounced the Catholic Church as the Whore of Babylon and the Pope himself as Antichrist; Catholic priests, particularly Jesuits, were seen as cunning agents of a foreign power, trained in methods of deception, constantly seeking to overthrow the cherished freedoms of the British way of life; monks and nuns were fanatics who carried out punishments of unspeakable cruelty on recalcitrant members of their communities; converts to Catholicism were 'perverts' who forfeited the right to normal relations with their families or indeed with society. The nation as a whole subscribed to a religious McCarthyism, in which to be a Roman Catholic was to be un-British. It was an ideology which was, as D.G.Paz puts it, 'an integral part of what it meant to be a Victorian'.<sup>1</sup>

Newman's *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* are an analysis of this ideology, satirising it, demonstrating the false traditions on which it was based and advising Catholics how they should respond to it. They were the first thing of their kind in English literature. They appeared at a time of national uproar, the 'Papal Aggression' crisis of 1850-1, and they landed Newman in court for libel. Aimed at a popular audience, they are supremely readable, at times shocking and certainly the most humorous of any of Newman's writings. Yet they are less well known today than his graver work and until now have only intermittently been available. The leading Newman authority, Ian Ker, sees

---

<sup>1</sup> Paz, D.G., *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford, 1992), p.299.

them as a neglected satirical masterpiece,<sup>2</sup> and it is the hope of this present edition that they will gain wider recognition as much for their literary value as for their place in religious controversy and apologetics.

#### *A note on the text*

The text used is that of the Sixth Edition of 1889 (in an identical reprint of 1899 to which I had most convenient access). This was the last edition that Newman saw through the press and is therefore his final definitive text. I am thus following the principle that an author's final version should be regarded as the authentic text. There are Newman works, such as the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* and the *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, for both of which there is a case for preferring the text of the first editions. However, in the case of *Present Position*, the only substantive textual issue concerns the 'libellous' Achilli passage which had to be omitted from all editions after the first. For the history of *Present Position*'s text, including a discussion of this issue, see below pp.27ff.

---

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ker, I., 'Newman the Satirist', in Ker, I. & Hill, A.G. (ed.), *Newman after a Hundred Years*, (Oxford, 1990), p.20.



## INTRODUCTION

### I. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

#### (a) 'Papal Aggression'

Because of the gap between Newman's age and our own, appreciating the lectures' historical context is particularly important. Anti-Catholicism had of course been central to English culture since the sixteenth century Protestant Reformation. For two centuries after Henry VIII's break with Rome and establishment of a Church of England of which the Crown was the Head, those who adhered to the old faith were subject to persecution. We look back with horror to those ages of barbaric religious intolerance: the hanging, drawing and quartering of Catholics under Elizabeth I and James I, and the burnings of Protestants under Mary I. The policy of a state church to which all must belong of course produced persecution of the non-conformist denominations, too; every American boy or girl knows about the Mayflower. The 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 then ushered in the new age of tolerance for all denominations in England - except Catholicism; and what is often not realised is just how profoundly intolerant of Catholics British society was to remain right through to the age of Queen Victoria. Fortunately, in recent years anti-Catholicism in nineteenth century Britain has been the subject of a number of detailed studies.<sup>1</sup> We now have a much more informed picture of the context which enables us to judge how true Newman's picture is of the anti-Catholic prejudice which he confronted in his *Present Position* lectures.

This is important, because for some writers on Newman, these lectures are the least

---

<sup>1</sup> Major studies include: Wolffe, J., *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain* (Oxford, 1991); Paz, D.G. op.cit.; Wallis, F. H., *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Lewiston, NY, 1993). These, together with virtually all other modern studies, are indebted to E.R.Norman's groundbreaking *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (London, 1968).

attractive and indeed least good of Newman's writings. The Anglican historian Owen Chadwick, for instance, sees the subject matter of the lectures as a distraction for Newman, a turning aside from the major theological issues which up to then had been his main concern. He argues that in the years immediately after Newman's conversion in 1845 he distrusted his own abilities as a serious theological writer and instead, with the misplaced zeal of a convert, descended to a subject matter that was not worthy of him. Chadwick therefore summarises the lectures as 'a refined mind bothering itself with trash'; so that when Newman painstakingly refutes such Protestant propaganda as the Maria Monk allegations, the reader 'is sad to see so delicate an instrument taking its time to prove false what no instructed person could believe true.'<sup>2</sup> Chadwick's implication is that educated Victorians had risen above the Protestant bigotry of the masses, so that Newman's refutation of it was unnecessary.

The particular events to which *Present Position* was a response give a rather different picture. On 29th September 1850 it was announced from Rome that Catholics in England, who since Reformation times had been organised under missionary-style arrangements, were once again to have their own hierarchy of territorial bishops. In place of the Vicars Apostolic, each of whom had an area of the country to administer, new episcopal sees were created, and Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman was to be the first Archbishop of Westminster. Wiseman, though English, had lived most of his life abroad, spending twelve years in Rome as Rector of the English College (where English Catholics were sent to be trained for the priesthood). He was a great admirer of all things Roman, and on 7th October he announced the Pope's restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England in a flamboyant pastoral letter 'From out of the Flaminian Gate':

Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament, from which its light had long vanished, and begins anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light and vigour.

---

<sup>2</sup> Chadwick, O., *Newman*, (Oxford, 1983), p.15.



Describing his own role as Archbishop of Westminster, he proclaimed that:

We govern, and shall continue to govern, the counties of Middlesex, Hertford and Essex, as ordinary thereof, and those of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire, and Hampshire, with the islands annexed, as administrator with ordinary jurisdiction.<sup>3</sup>

It seems clear that he had no idea that this triumphalist declaration would have the impact that it did. What he was announcing was, after all, merely a change in the way that English Catholics were to be organised, from administrative districts to dioceses. However, he had chosen to interpret this as being of enormous symbolic significance, and the British press took him at his word. Led by *The Times* and *Punch*, the papers saw this as an outrageous attempt by the papacy to claim jurisdiction over England. It was quickly dubbed the 'Papal Aggression' and was greeted with furious denunciations as an infringement of Britain's Protestant freedom.

Then came one of the most extraordinary features of this outbreak of anti-Catholicism. The campaign was dramatically boosted by the support of no less a person than the Prime Minister himself, Lord John Russell. In a public letter to the Bishop of Durham he denounced this 'attempt to impose a foreign yoke upon our minds and consciences'.<sup>4</sup> Russell's motives were partly those of political opportunism. As *Punch* put it, making fun of this hijacking of a campaign in which it was playing a leading role:

Little Jack Russell

Got in a bustle,

At hearing the general cry;

A letter wrote he

In the popular key,

And said 'What a good boy am I!'<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> See *English Historical Documents*, vol.XII (I), 1833-1874, ed. G.M.Young and W.D.Handcock, p.366.

<sup>4</sup> Norman, op.cit. p.160.

<sup>5</sup> *Punch*, 1850, Vol.19, p.251.

However, Russell's deliberate stirring up of anti-Catholicism from the very pinnacle of political power is itself an indication of just how socially respectable such an ideology was.

The outcry was now national, with public meetings up and down the country in which speakers attacked the setting up of the new Catholic hierarchy with extraordinary vehemence. Petitions to the Queen protesting against this Catholic usurpation of her prerogatives were signed by hundreds of thousands. The 'No Popery' uproar spilled over into violence with Catholic priests being pelted in the streets and Catholic churches being attacked. Yet the campaign had effectively been blessed by the government; and the public meetings and petitions were organised by the middle classes, often by the Anglican clergy themselves, with local notables and clergymen presiding over meetings and drawing up addresses.<sup>6</sup> The Papal Aggression campaign thus had a most socially respectable leadership; indeed, Paz points out the part that civic pride played in the holding of such meetings, quoting the promoter of one in Southampton who wanted the town to have an anti-Catholic meeting because 'so many *Inferior* places have set us the example'.<sup>7</sup> Anti-Catholicism was evidently the way to become genteel.

Newman at first counselled that Catholics should not respond to this furore but should keep their heads down and wait for it to pass. Wiseman, alarmed at what he had stirred up, had already published in November a conciliatory *Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the subject of the Catholic Hierarchy*. In this he explained that his language had been misunderstood, and that he was only claiming jurisdiction over his Catholic flock, many of whom were among the very poor. His reasonable tone had some effect, but the agitation continued. The anti-Catholic protest meetings had not been everywhere equally successful, however, since Dissenters were wary of allying themselves too closely to the Church of England when it came to forbidding the new Catholic bishops' titles. That amounted to support for a state church and was thus anathema to the principles

---

<sup>6</sup> Newman himself gives a selection of these reactions in *O.S.*, pp.317-327.

<sup>7</sup> Paz, *op.cit.*, p.24.



of 'voluntaryism', i.e. dissenting denominations as opposed to an established church. Dissent was particularly strong in Birmingham, and there the great No Popery meeting in the Town Hall in December failed to adopt the anti-Catholic resolutions proposed by its leaders. This meeting marked the turning of the tide and may perhaps have influenced Newman in his advice about concentrating on Catholics' *local* reputation which he was to give in his final *Present Position* lecture.

However, Lord Russell's stance had forced him into taking some tangible political measures. His government committed itself to passing new anti-Catholic legislation, outlawing the use of territorial titles by the new Catholic bishops and proposing restrictions on religious orders. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill eventually became law, but only in a watered-down version and not before it had helped to cause the government's fall. Russell formed a new administration, but the anti-Catholic tiger had proved a difficult one to ride. As the campaign continued, Catholics became more confident and entered the field to put the Church's case. Congratulating the layman John Capes on the committee he was organising for public lectures in February 1851, Newman urged that Catholics should 'make the excuse of this persecution for getting up a great organization, going round the towns giving lectures, or making speeches.'<sup>8</sup> Typically, Newman was very keen for laymen to be in the forefront of such public apologetics, and he worried away at Capes about the status of the committee. Capes himself started a series of lectures, and when he had to give them up through ill-health, Newman urgently asked him:

How many good Lecturers and speakers could you collect up and down the country? . . . The thing would be to keep it from becoming ecclesiastical (in which case it would fall under the priests of the place, who, if dull, would ruin the whole) . . .<sup>9</sup>

Yet, at the end of the day, Newman himself decided to lecture. Perhaps he came to feel

---

<sup>8</sup> *L.D.*, xiv, p.214.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, p.218.

that Capes's committee was inadequate in its efforts - his letter to Capes certainly has a tone of frustration. His first biographer, Wilfred Ward, comments: "If you want a thing done, you should do it yourself" says the proverb - and shortly after writing this letter Newman determined to make his own contribution to the enterprise he had suggested, though he was a priest, not a layman.<sup>10</sup> Newman now took the initiative and booked the Birmingham Corn Exchange for a series of public lectures. They were to be popular in style and to be available for sale in cheap off-prints at the door. And so in these heady circumstances were his *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* born. They were delivered weekly, beginning on 30th June and finishing on 1st September 1851.

### *(b) Anti-Catholicism*

With their content, style and reception I will deal below. At the outset, however, it can be confidently stated that, no less than Newman's other works, they were getting to grips with a real problem. Owen Chadwick characterises the Papal Aggression campaign in terms of working-class violence, racially and economically motivated: 'The mobs of Britain were out against Catholics. They were afraid of cheap Irish labour, and therefore they knew nothing and believed everything.'<sup>11</sup> However, this not only ignores the upper- and middle-class nature of the agitation's leadership but also takes no account of the role played by the various anti-Catholic societies such as the British Reformation Society, the Protestant Association and the Evangelical Alliance. Chadwick's detailed treatment of the Papal Aggression crisis in his major study of Victorian Christianity makes scant mention of these societies,<sup>12</sup> yet they were frequently the organisers of the public meetings and petitions of 1850-1, as Paz demonstrates.<sup>13</sup> Further, such activity and organisation cannot be

---

<sup>10</sup> Ward, W., *The Life of John Henry Newman* (London, 1912), Vol.I, p.263.

<sup>11</sup> Chadwick, loc.cit.

<sup>12</sup> Chadwick O., *The Victorian Church*, (3rd edn, London, 1987), pp.271-309.

<sup>13</sup> Paz, op.cit., pp.124-127.



understood except against the background of the growth of the anti-Catholic societies in the 1830s and 1840s and the part they played in religious and social life. The social profile of the membership of the two biggest of these societies has been analysed by Wolffe: about a fifth were clergy, and 'the backbone of membership clearly came from the minor gentry and professions'.<sup>14</sup> These were the agitators and speechmakers and the publishers of the pamphlets and periodicals from which Newman culls his examples of anti-Catholicism in the *Present Position* lectures. So it now seems clear that the violent mobs of 1850-1 were not spontaneous working-class outbursts but were the results of organised anti-Catholic agitation led and funded by the middle classes and clergy.

Anti-Catholicism was fuelled by the perception that Catholics were a growing force in the land. The first attempt to grant Catholics some degree of freedom had been the Catholic Relief Act of 1778. This relatively modest measure had provoked the Gordon Riots, when the London mob, stirred up by the half crazy Lord George Gordon, reduced London to anarchy for several days (vividly described by Dickens in *Barnaby Rudge*). Order was only reimposed by the use of troops. It was fifty years before Catholics finally won their political rights in the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, pushed through Parliament by the arch-conservative Duke of Wellington as Prime Minister not from any pro-Catholic sympathy but as a means of dealing with Irish unrest. Such pragmatism outraged Protestant feeling and prompted increased activity by the anti-Catholic societies. Another crisis came in 1845 over the Maynooth question - the annual giving of a grant by the British government to Maynooth College which trained most of Ireland's Catholic priests. This was seen as a betrayal of Protestantism, and in this year was the occasion of meetings and petitions to Parliament, opposing the grant. The grant was in fact increased, again largely as a measure to placate the Irish Catholic Church and thus to secure its co-operation against Irish insurrection. However, it had produced the biggest coming-together yet of the various anti-Catholic organisations in a massive Anti-Maynooth Conference,

---

<sup>14</sup> Wolffe, *op.cit.*, pp.163-5

attended by representatives of all the Protestant denominations. The Papal Aggression crisis five years later was therefore a part of the pattern of organised anti-Catholic agitation which played such a prominent part in Victorian life.

The Victorian Englishman feared Catholicism because he saw it as breaking out of the confines of penal days. He saw its political emancipation and observed the building of its churches. The Catholic population of England, which had been declining in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was now growing fast. The figures are subject to much debate, but according to John Bossy the Catholic population of England increased nearly tenfold between 1770 when there were about 80,000 Catholics and 1850 when there were about 750,000.<sup>15</sup> Bossy argues that this was only partly due to Irish immigration and mostly to the self-regeneration of the Catholic community, assisted by the gradual relaxation of the penal legislation against it. At the first synod of the restored Catholic hierarchy held at Oscott, Newman preached his celebrated sermon 'The Second Spring' in which he dramatically pictured the sudden, miraculous re-birth of the Catholic Church in England. Historians now dispute Newman's historiography,<sup>16</sup> but what is important is that this is both how Catholics themselves perceived their current strength and how Protestants too viewed, with alarm, the growth of 'popery' in their midst. The really disturbing factor for the Protestant, of course, was the Oxford Movement. Here were Oxford educated Anglican divines claiming that the Church of England was not as Protestant as everyone thought but that it was Catholic in its belief and worship, and then some of them even becoming Roman Catholics themselves. The Oxford Movement as a whole had not followed Newman into the Catholic Church in 1845. Led by Edward Pusey it now constituted a permanent party in the Anglican church. It is significant that Lord John Russell in his Durham Letter reserved his fiercest condemnation for these

Clergyman of the Church of England, who have subscribed the Thirty-Nine

---

<sup>15</sup> Bossy, J., *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850*, (London, 1975), p.298.

<sup>16</sup> e.g. Bossy, *op.cit*, p.299.



Articles and acknowledged in explicit terms the Queen's supremacy, [but who] have been most forward in leading their flocks 'step by step to the very verge of the precipice'.

In the sermons and pamphlets of the Papal aggression crisis, the 'Puseyites' came in for quite as much vilification as the Catholics themselves; they were the enemy within. Numerically, conversions due to the Oxford Movement were not that significant in the overall growth of Catholicism; but their power to frighten Protestant opinion was out of all proportion to their numbers, perhaps because they came from the same classes as the leaders of anti-Catholic activity. It was the fear of the Protestant fathers of England that they would return from a 'No Popery' meeting to find that their own sons or daughters had become 'perverts' to the detested Romish faith.

So the growth of organised anti-Catholicism in the first half of the nineteenth century was a conscious reaction to a perceived threat to the professional classes by an aggressively growing Catholic Church in England. Indeed, John Wolffe argues that one of the impetuses towards the formation of the anti-Catholic societies was the decline in traditional popular anti-Catholic manifestations, such as Guy Fawkes celebrations, when the Pope was burned in effigy and it was wise for Catholics to keep indoors. These traditions were dying out, and it was felt that more organised activity had to be undertaken to revive the traditional English hostility to popery.<sup>17</sup> Anti-Catholicism, therefore, was essentially reactionary in nature. It drew upon the centuries-long traditional prejudice, but it was a conscious counter-attack and as such highly organised. Yet, paradoxically, it saw itself as progressive, since Catholicism was seen as a hangover from less enlightened times. The Evangelicals, for instance, had a strong sense of their mission to transform society and rid it of its evils, and their greatest success was of course the battle against slavery. But these same reformers bracketed 'popery' with slavery as one of the other great evils to be fought against.

---

<sup>17</sup> op.cit., pp.145-6.

The evidence is now overwhelming that when Newman confronted and satirised anti-Catholicism in his 1851 lectures he was engaging with a serious force, with powerful ideas in which 'instructed people' did indeed believe. John Wolffe assesses the lectures as:

an interesting treatment of the problem of anti-Catholicism from an observer whose partisan commitment did not cause him to slide into mere polemic and who had the advantage of viewing the religious battlefield from both sides of the tortured no man's land of Littlemore.<sup>18</sup>

And J.R.Griffin concludes that the value of the lectures is precisely as history: they give a picture of the intense Protestant prejudice of the Victorian age and deserve greater study by historians of the period for that reason.<sup>19</sup>

### *(c) The Achilli affair*

'It is unfortunate' says Wolffe, 'that Newman's *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* have been remembered more for the libel action to which they gave occasion than for their actual content.'<sup>20</sup> Indeed, it is the interest in them as the cause of one of the more sensational episodes in Newman's life, the Achilli trial, that has perhaps eclipsed consideration of their literary qualities. Nevertheless, the reader who is not familiar with the events will want to know what happened.

One of the features of anti-Catholic campaigns was the holding of public meetings addressed by ex-Catholics, sometimes priests, who denounced their former popish errors and gave lurid accounts of the horrors of Catholic life. They were sometimes imposters whose motives were financial. One pair, Chylinski and Teodor (whom Newman mentions, p.208) even sold "Wafer Gods", i.e. consecrated Communion hosts, at the door for a penny

---

<sup>18</sup> op.cit., p.3.

<sup>19</sup> Griffin, John R., *A Historical Commentary on the Major Catholic Works of Cardinal Newman*, (New York, 1993). p.66.

<sup>20</sup> Wolffe, op.cit., p.3.



each. Others were backed by the anti-Catholic organisations which arranged meetings for them to address. One such was Giacinto Achilli (1802-60), a former Dominican friar, who had been imprisoned (in a monastery) by the Inquisition for heresy, he claimed, but actually for a series of sexual offences, some against under-age young women. He had been 'rescued' from the Inquisition, however, by a group of English ultra-Protestants and brought to England as a hero six months before the Papal Aggression crisis broke. He was received by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, greeted at a public meeting at Exeter Hall with a specially written hymn, 'Hail Roman prisoner, Hail!' and given a chapel in London. His *Dealings with the Inquisition* was a best seller. In his public lectures, sponsored by the Evangelical Alliance, he professed to have seen through the errors of Catholicism and to be a sincere Protestant, and his exciting accounts of the cruelties of the Inquisition made him a credible and popular anti-Catholic speaker. His meetings were very well-attended, despite his having to speak through an interpreter.

The truth about him was not long in being discovered: he had left behind him in Italy a string of seductions, and he had continued his conduct even after he had briefly been accepted as a professor at the Protestant College in Malta. Cardinal Wiseman printed a devastating exposé of him in *The Dublin Review* as early as July 1850, giving all the offences in detail, but Achilli had not sued for libel, and this was what gave Newman the confidence to repeat the facts in the fifth of his lectures, taking legal advice before doing so to check that he would be all right. However, within a month he heard that Achilli was going to sue him. If Achilli had not dared to bring his life under the scrutiny of a court before, why did he now? It seems that he was pushed into it by the Protestant Alliance. Newman's stature and the consequent widespread circulation of the lectures was the main reason - he simply could not be allowed to destroy this anti-Catholic hero. Achilli had also known that if he sued *The Dublin Review* the case would be heard in Ireland where the jury would be likely to be largely made up of Catholics; whereas in Protestant Birmingham, at the height of the Papal Aggression campaign he was much more likely to find a jury who

wanted to believe in him. The libel charge was officially laid against Newman in November.

Under English law, Newman had to be able to prove every one of the charges he had made - just proving some of them would not be enough. He sent to Wiseman at once for the documents on which the *Dublin Review* article had been based. Incredibly, Wiseman failed to take the matter seriously and had in fact mislaid them! He found them eventually but too late to prevent a trial. Newman and his defence committee now had to find the relevant witnesses in Italy and persuade them to come to England and give their testimony. As may be imagined, it was a massive undertaking, but various of Achilli's victims were found and agreed to come. One of Newman's lay women friends, Maria Giberne, went off to take charge of the Italian ladies and escort them from Italy. She ended having to spend months with them in Paris, since Achilli, hearing that witnesses were on their way, had managed to get the trial delayed. The suspense of waiting for the trial put Newman under a terrible strain. During this time he had also been invited to become the founding Rector of the proposed Catholic University in Dublin and was composing and delivering there the first five of the series of discourses which were to become part of *The Idea of a University*. In the dedication to this volume he later referred to 'the stress of a great anxiety' under which they had been composed. The trial finally began on 21st June 1852. It lasted three days and concluded with a strongly biased summing-up by the judge Lord Campbell. The verdict from the jury of 'pot-house fellows' (in Newman's phrase) was inevitable. Despite all the evidence of the victims and witnesses, Achilli simply denied that any of it had happened, and the jury believed him and found Newman guilty of criminal libel.

But the injustice of the verdict was widely recognised. Even *The Times*, which was strongly anti-Catholic, criticised Campbell's obvious bias and commented:

a great blow has been given to the administration of justice in this country, and Roman Catholics will have henceforth only too good reason for asserting that there is no justice for them in matters tending to rouse the Protestant feelings of judges



and juries.<sup>21</sup>

Newman's lawyers pressed for a new trial; though this was not granted, by now there was general agreement that the verdict had been unjust. Sentencing had been postponed, and when it came Newman did not get the prison sentence that he and everyone else was expecting: instead he only got a fine of £100 and a long lecture from Judge Coleridge about his 'moral deterioration' since he had become a Catholic. (Extraordinarily, the evidence is that Coleridge believed Newman was telling the truth about Achilli. He later wrote to Keble 'It is a very painful matter for us who must hail his libel as false, believing it is in great part true - or at least that it may be.'<sup>22</sup>) The fine was paid on the spot by Newman's supporters. His final legal bills were enormous but were all paid out of a fund organised by his defence committee to which Catholics both at home and abroad contributed; indeed there was £2,000 over which was used towards the building of the new University Church in Dublin and the cottage and Oratorian cemetery at Rednal.

Achilli, though he had won the case, was a discredited figure. He continued his seductions and ended up in America. Newman had to remove the 'libellous' sections of Lecture V in subsequent editions (they are reprinted in the Textual Appendix in this edition), replacing them initially with the inscription 'De illis quae sequebantur / posteorum judicium sit ' - About those things which followed / let posterity be the judge.

---

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in *L.D.*, xv, p.108.

<sup>22</sup> Ms letter to Keble (Nov.8, 1852), Taylor Collection, Bodleian, quoted in Griffin, *op.cit.*, p.63.

## II. THE TEXT

### (a) *Composition*

As is the case with most of Newman's writings, no manuscript of the *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* has survived except for twelve pages of Lecture I (see below).<sup>1</sup> However, there is also extant some preparatory material containing a number of pamphlets, letters and notes which Newman made use of.<sup>2</sup> I have quoted from a number of these in their appropriate places in the Editor's Notes; they are listed in detail in the Bibliography.

In this batch of preparatory material there are two sheets of notes in Newman's handwriting which have survived. They are of particular interest, however, since they show the stages of his working. The first sheet appears to be a second page of Newman's original planning for the lectures. I have transcribed both sides of this (see Textual Appendix 2). It gives brief notes for lectures numbered 5, 6, 7 and 8, though these do not bear much relation to the final form of these lectures. These notes consist of a series of points which have then had other phrases and sometimes whole sentences added adjacent to them as annotations, though sometimes these annotations become an extension of the points themselves and are of greater length than them. This suggests that Newman gathered his ideas partly in an ordered way but also partly by jotting down ideas as they came to him - what might today be called 'brainstorming'. After these notes there is a list of lectures numbered 1 to 7 which bears some relation to his ultimate arrangement, but then his ideas seem to run out. Interestingly, he has a sentence 'but let us go on to enquire *what* are the real grounds' [i.e. for anti-Catholic prejudice] and lists some ideas which he crosses out with the comment 'but these are moral grounds more than intellectual.' He had evidently not yet thought out what was to become Lecture VII on First Principles. However, most of the ideas on this sheet turn up somewhere in the final version of the

---

<sup>1</sup> O.A., Document D.5.5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Box D.5.16.



lectures, though some were to be discarded, such as the reference to 'St. Ignatius saying black is white'. The repeated phrase 'Bide thou thy time' (the opening line of Newman's poem *The Patient Church* - see the Editor's Note on pp.400. 33 - 401. 1) was evidently the starting point for the advice to Catholics on how to conduct themselves in Lecture IX. There are two references to 'the Bully Demagogue' who might be the origin of the Russian Count in Lecture I. (One oddity is the phrase 'Hoddy doddy' which appears in the top right hand corner of the second side. This was an old term for a fool or a snail; it is also the opening phrase of a nursery rhyme which is a riddle about a cooking-pot.<sup>3</sup> From the context, Newman was presumably applying it in one of these senses to anti-Catholic polemicists, but it did not make it into the lectures.)

The second sheet of notes in Newman's handwriting appears to be an intermediate stage of more detailed planning for individual lectures. It has been folded vertically: one half consists of references to Blackstone for the Russian Count's speech in Lecture I, a number of them ticked, presumably as each was used. The other half is headed 'June 27. for Lecture 4' and has thirteen numbered points which outline the structure which this lecture was indeed to have. We do not know, of course, whether Newman went straight from this stage to a first draft nor whether there were similar plans for the other lectures.

The MS of part of Lecture I, mentioned above, consists of just twelve sheets and appears to have survived only accidentally. The text runs from the beginning of the lecture to what is now (in the 6th Edition) page 6 line 28 '. . . say for itself'. It is neatly written but has some corrections in ink, which mostly look as if they have been done as Newman wrote, and other revisions in pencil in a different handwriting (see Textual Appendix 3). He sent the proofs of Lecture I to the London Oratorian priest, Bernard Dalgairns, for his comments, so perhaps he had also sent the MS at this earlier stage, though Newman's letter accompanying the proofs reads as if those were Dalgairns' first sight of the lecture.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> See Opie, I. and P.(ed), *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (Oxford, 1951), pp.210-11.

<sup>4</sup> *L.D.*, xiv, pp.300-1.

Whoever made these pencil emendations, Newman incorporated virtually all of them in the text of the first Edition, as the list of variants in Appendix 3 demonstrates. It is interesting that he consulted others and accepted their advice even about the minutiae of his wording.

Newman clearly wrote the lectures under the pressure of time. He started work on them some time in May 1851: the first reference to them in the *Letters and Diaries* is on the 19th May when he wrote to a friend for help in finding two books he wanted to refer to, by Blanco White and Joseph White, in Lectures I and III respectively, so the scheme of the lectures must have been more or less in his mind by then.<sup>5</sup> On 17th June he wrote to John Capes: 'I am just commencing a set of Public Lectures at the Corn Exchange and going to Press with them'.<sup>6</sup> On the 22nd he confessed to Lady Olivia Acheson (who was living with some other 'nunnish ladies' in a house not far from the Oratory), 'I am getting into the dreadful whirlpool of those Lectures - three months! I dread it very much.'<sup>7</sup> It was on 29th June that he consulted Fr.Dalgairns about Lecture I, arranging for the printer to send him both the proofs and the 'revise' which Dalgairns was to return directly to the printer. The first Lecture was given on Monday 30<sup>th</sup> June, and they continued weekly for the next four weeks. Newman was writing to Dalgairns again on 4th July about Lecture II which was to be given only three days later.<sup>8</sup> On Friday 11th July he was writing to James Hope for an answer 'if possible, by return of post' about whether he could comment on Spooner's absurd allegations in the House of Commons about the new Oratory house (see p.118) without being in contempt of the House. One can see why it was a matter of some urgency: Newman was going to refer to it 'in a public Lecture on Monday' (Lecture III) and explained that 'The proof has come down this morning, and some of us are rather

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p.285.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p.289.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p.299.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp.303-4.

nervous.’<sup>9</sup> Four days later, in a letter to Archbishop Cullen who wanted to meet Newman in London about the proposed Catholic University, Newman excused himself because ‘I have to get *written, and transcribed* for the Press, by Friday morning a Lecture [Lecture IV] of 40 printed pages, of which not one half is written.’<sup>10</sup> On 19th July he wrote to Elizabeth Bowden that he was ‘quite overpowered with work’ and although he urgently wanted to start dealing with the new Catholic University he ‘physically *cannot* till these Lectures are done; and I cannot *hurry* the lectures - It would be like attempting to run 50 miles an hour on the narrow gauge.’<sup>11</sup> In the same letter he mentioned that he was thinking of stopping the lectures for a week. This indicates the pressure he felt under. Lecture V (the one about Achilli) shows some signs of haste: in addition to the material on Achilli which he took straight from Wiseman’s article in the *Dublin Review*, he also borrowed heavily from another *Dublin Review* article and made mistakes in his use of Challoner’s *Missionary Priests*.<sup>12</sup> He did indeed take a break after it: there was no lecture on Monday 4<sup>th</sup> August, and he resumed on Monday 11<sup>th</sup>.

Interestingly, Newman actually responded to the earlier Lectures’ reception as he composed the later ones. On 30<sup>th</sup> July, an Evangelical publisher, Robert Seeley, wrote to the *Morning Herald* attacking what Newman had said in Lecture IV about Blanco White. Seeley claimed that, far from being untypical, White’s unbelief while a priest in Spain was widespread among the Spanish clergy and among Catholic priests in England, too. A public correspondence between Seeley and Newman ensued during the first fortnight of August, to which Newman then referred in Lecture VII (pp.352-5) which he delivered on Monday 25<sup>th</sup>. In this sense, the Lectures became an ongoing dialectic with anti-Catholicism in a way which must have considerably added to their contemporary effect. In

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp.308-9.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p.310.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p.313.

<sup>12</sup> See below the Editor’s Notes for pp.210-18.



this case, Seeley's baseless allegation of secret unbelief among the Birmingham Catholic clergy was grist to Newman's mill; but it is fascinating that, in a sense, Seeley's response shaped Newman's work.

On 28th August, two days before the final Lecture IX, Newman wrote again to Elizabeth Bowden, 'I am glad to say I am sending up my last bit of MS to the press tonight (except the Preface etc)'<sup>13</sup>. That same day he heard that Achilli was threatening to sue for libel. The Preface is dated on the Feast of the Birthday of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 8<sup>th</sup> September, a week after the final Lecture had been delivered. The maximum time Newman could have spent, from first notes to final drafts, is thus about three and a half months, during which time he was also extremely busy with other matters, not least the building of the new Oratory House in Edgbaston.

*(b) Publication and revision*

The lectures were published individually by Burns and Lambert as they appeared; they cost one shilling and three pence each (a price which Cardinal Wiseman thought excessive<sup>14</sup>). The complete First Edition was published, also by Burns and Lambert, as soon as the lectures were complete, together with a cheap edition which omitted the title page, dedication and preface. Newman himself had also had the individual lectures printed for sale at twopence each just to those who attended at the Corn Exchange. Newman offered these cheap copies to Burns to sell, arguing that 'the cheap Lectures would not only get among those who will not buy the dear, but will be advertised to those who will.'<sup>15</sup> Perhaps not surprisingly, Burns was not interested in this proposal, and Newman eventually had these bound together to make a cheap edition of his own, published in

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.335.

<sup>14</sup> See *ibid.*, p.321.

<sup>15</sup> See *ibid.*, p.311.

Birmingham.<sup>16</sup> The lectures also appeared in summarised form (by J.Spencer Northcote) in the popular Catholic magazine *The Lamp* from 6<sup>th</sup> September to 1<sup>st</sup> November 1851. There was a second issue of Burns' edition in 1852.<sup>17</sup> It bears the date 1851 but contains blank pages with the asterisks and Latin inscription (see above) in place of the 'libellous' Achilli passage and the date '*In fest. Nativ. S. Joan. Bapt. 1852*' (the day on which Newman had been found guilty of libel) and had in fact been printed in 1851 except for those pages.<sup>18</sup> It looks as if the publicity of the trial caused a rise in demand for the lectures. Burns also issued a 'Second Edition' which was identical to this and was still dated 1851.

A Third Edition was published in 1857 by the Dublin publisher James Duffy who also took over stocks of others of Newman's works from Burns. This edition is now rare, and I have been unable to locate a copy. Since it appeared while Newman was busy setting up the Catholic University, it seems unlikely that he made any revisions at this time; there are no references to his doing so in the Letters of this period.

There were no further printings until the Fourth Edition which appeared in 1872 as part of the uniform edition of all his works which Newman was now producing, published by what was now Burns, Oates and Company. For this he made a detailed revision of the whole text, as Appendix 1 indicates. A very few further changes, all of them minor, were made for the Fifth Edition which appeared in 1880. By the final edition, the Sixth in 1889 (published by Longmans, Green and Co.), 306 of the book's 416 pages contain amendments of the First Edition. This demonstrates with what minute care Newman had undertaken the task of revision and suggests how much he still valued the lectures years after their composition. If they had indeed been the work of an over-zealous convert who

---

<sup>16</sup> See Blehl, Vincent Ferrer, S.J., *John Henry Newman: A Bibliographical Catalogue of His Writings*, (Univ. of Virginia, 1978), pp.44-45.

<sup>17</sup> See *L.D.*, xiv, pp.335-6.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p.421, n.3.

was later embarrassed by them, one would expect any revision to be in the direction of toning down or softening their force, but this is not the case. Almost none of the amendments is significant as far as the argument is concerned; they are purely stylistic. Sentences or phrases have their word order changed, or occasionally he finds that he has been inconsistent in his use of tense or number and corrects accordingly. This feels like a text which was written in a hurry now being made smoother at leisure. Even in the First Edition he had inserted an Erratum slip to correct what he termed 'an error of composition' by which he had accidentally said the opposite of what he intended, using 'deny' when the sentence required 'assert' (see p.135).

About a quarter of his changes consists of additions, a word or phrase being inserted with a clarifying or formalising effect; he has a tendency to intensify by the addition of a word such as 'even'. Where he changes words rather than adding them, there is also a slight tendency towards more formal vocabulary, e.g. 'led' becomes 'induced' (p.53), 'still he simply relies' becomes 'notwithstanding, he is content to rely' (p.99), 'in many places at once' becomes 'ubiquitous' (p.131), 'go among' becomes 'hold friendly intercourse with' (p.342), 'evidence' becomes 'antecedent proof' (p.354). Such alterations do not amount to a wholesale stylistic change, but they do make the tone of the lectures slightly less immediate and more considered. He cuts out a number of his more colloquial touches, in a way one might regret, such as the reference to 'the boy in the story, who went and told of his playmate, who was before him in stealing the gooseberry pie' (p.193), 'to use a vulgar but expressive proverb, that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander' (p.220) and 'the Englishmen in Sicily, who, when he could not get his mules by the appliance of all the Italian he could command, fair or rough, at last effected his purpose by shouting out at the pitch of his voice to his host, who had never heard a word of English in his life, "Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham."' (p.331)

In a number of cases, his changes sharpen the argument up. For instance, he twice introduces the word 'infallible' to describe, ironically, the Protestant position (p.76 and



p.109), perhaps in the light of the controversies following the 1870 definition of Papal Infallibility. Lecture VIII is the most heavily amended, especially the sections on Indulgences where Newman seems at pains to make his expression as precise as possible in an area which Protestants saw as vulnerable to attack. He introduces a particularly effective addition when illustrating the need to understand theological language - in this case about indulgences - in its correct context:

So again, innkeepers paint up, "Entertainment for man and horse;" they do not add the important words, "to those who can pay for it." Every other private house in our streets has "Ring the bell" upon its door; that is, "if you have business within" (p.346).

He had thought of this parallel with indulgences as early as October 1851 when he gave it in a letter to the wife of his friend William Froude who claimed to have seen at Marseilles lists of indulgences without any conditions attached.<sup>19</sup> Lecture IV also has a large number of amendments in the section dealing with Blanco White, reflecting the controversies this had sparked off in newspapers on the subject of the number of 'infidel' priests in Spain and the complex question of intention and the validity of sacraments celebrated by an unbelieving priest.<sup>20</sup>

These amendments are slightly defensive in tone, as is another amendment in Lecture VI where he is clearly reacting to criticism: '. . . I cannot help it if, in exposing the prejudice of my countrymen, I incur the imputation of using satire against them; I do not wish to do so' (p.236). For a discussion of the significance of this remark, see below pp.69ff. Archbishop Ullathrone had privately expressed some reservations to Newman about the final Lecture in which Newman appealed for an 'intelligently, well-instructed laity,' 'not disputatious,' but 'who know their creed so well that they can give an account of it.' Ullathorne's concern was that it might be misinterpreted by 'the poorer classes,

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p.389.

<sup>20</sup> See *ibid*, pp.309, 322-8.

especially the Irish' as an encouragement of their 'love of religious controversy which some of them love to carry on in pot houses'.<sup>21</sup> Newman's addition, 'I am not advocating, as you will see presently, anything rude in your bearing, or turbulent, or offensive; but first I would impress upon you the *end* you have to aim at' (p.373), is evidently a response to such criticism.

From the Fourth Edition onwards each lecture was also divided into numbered sections. Such divisions would, of course, have been irrelevant to the original listeners and give the work a treatise-like appearance which is perhaps inappropriate to the lectures' original form. The 'libellous' passage naturally had to remain omitted from all editions printed after the court case; it continued to be omitted even in editions published after both Newman and Achilli had died. It is a question whether we should now restore this passage. To do so would of course be to produce a text which was a conflation of the First and Sixth Editions, a text which Newman himself never approved. On the other hand, one could argue that he only continued to omit the passage for fear of being prosecuted for repeating what had been judged libellous. Interestingly, just before he died, Newman authorised the Catholic Truth Society to publish an edition omitting Lecture V 'in compliance with the wish of the late Cardinal, expressed in one of the interviews which we were privileged to have with him', and this version duly appeared as *Eight Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* in 1890.<sup>22</sup> It is unclear why he requested the omission, and one is tempted to speculate that this was a misunderstanding about not printing the Achilli passage. There certainly does not seem to be a case for regarding this version as representing a revision of the text on Newman's part. When Longmans reprinted further editions after his death they continued to reproduce the 1889 Sixth

---

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p.345.

<sup>22</sup>*Eight Lectures on the Position of Catholics in England by Cardinal Newman, to which is prefixed an outline of his life by the Rev.W.Barry, D.D.* (London, 1890). The quotation is from the Preface by W.H.Cologan and James Britten, Honorary Secretaries of the Catholic Truth Society.

Edition's complete text. This edition, reproduced for this thesis, is Newman's final text. The libellous passage can be found in full in the Textual Appendix. Perhaps it is fitting that the lacuna should stand in the text as a reminder of the injustice which the libel trial did to Newman and to truth.

*Present Position* has never been published in a critical edition. In 1925 the American Jesuit Daniel O'Connell, produced an edition with a brief introduction and notes for college use.<sup>23</sup> He provides a useful summary of each Lecture, but unfortunately his notes consist almost entirely of eulogistic extracts from writers on Newman, mostly of a general kind, attached often somewhat arbitrarily to various points of the text. No historical or literary references are explained, and there is no attempt to give the context. O'Connell's edition must have helped to introduce American Catholic college students to Newman and to these lectures but is not critical in intention.

---

<sup>23</sup> Newman, John Henry, *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England*, edited for class or private study by David O'Connell, S.J. (New York, 1942).



### III. THE SATIRIST

Newman suffers from stereotyping. A myth persists not only of his 'sensitivity' but also of his supposed lack of a sense of humour. Because of the *Apologia*, he is thought of as a tortured soul struggling towards truth who then went on to become a great and revered institution. Neither of these images sits well with the 'libellous' satirist of the *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics*. As I indicate below in Section V, early criticism of the book expressed surprise and a certain shock that the great man should have descended to such a level; the modern version of this is to see Newman primarily as a theological thinker and, like Chadwick, to find his lively polemics distasteful. Such critics might like to recall that the earliest drawing of Newman we have is of him as the schoolboy chairman of the Spy Club where he is reading aloud to his fellows from his weekly paper, *The Spy*.<sup>1</sup> According to the later reminiscences of his brother Frank, this periodical caused friction with some of the other boys at his private school because the young John Henry 'quizzed everybody', that is, made fun of them. Here is the early satirist! He later remembered how how both at school and at home he wrote plays for his brothers and sisters: there was a 'mock drama of some kind' in 1812 and 'a satire on the Prince Regent.'<sup>2</sup>

As an undergraduate at Oxford he and his friend John Bowden started a periodical, *The Undergraduate* which got more comic with every issue.<sup>3</sup> In it Newman argued for the setting up of a university debating club. He clearly had a natural enjoyment of argument and debate. At this time, and even for a while after his winning of the Oriel Fellowship, he seriously considered becoming a barrister. Meriol Trevor makes the interesting observation that a number of Newman's best friends all his life were lawyers.<sup>4</sup> It is

---

<sup>1</sup> See Ward, Maisie, *Young Mr. Newman* (London, 1948), illustration between pp.14-15.

<sup>2</sup> *L.D.*, I, p.10.

<sup>3</sup> See Trevor, M., *Newman. The Pillar of the Cloud* (London, 1962), p.29.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ibid.*, p.30.

perhaps not surprising that his favourite author was the great Roman orator, Cicero. Newman later described him as 'the only master of style I have ever had';<sup>5</sup> and it is significant that he highlighted Cicero's use of 'raillery' and 'irony' in the article he wrote on him for the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana* in 1824.<sup>6</sup>

In an essay on 'Newman the Satirist' Ian Ker argues the case for a reassessment of this aspect of Newman's literary stature.<sup>7</sup> He demonstrates that although Newman's gifts of satire and humour certainly blossomed after his conversion to Catholicism, they were already powerfully present in his Anglican period. He finds Newman first using satire in 1833 in private letters written from Italy to friends back at home, attacking Thomas Arnold's *Principles of Church Reform* which put forward a plan for religious comprehensiveness in which the various Protestant denominations would share the use of parish churches. Newman makes fun of this, suggesting that there should be *two* Sundays in the week to accommodate them all, with the Jews using the churches on Saturdays and the Moslems on Fridays.<sup>8</sup>

(a) *The British Critic (I): Exeter Hall*

So far had been no sign of Newman's satirical gifts in his published writings: his early articles, his sermons, the *Arians of the Fourth Century* (1833) and his contributions to the *Tracts for the Times*. Once the Oxford Movement was under way, however, there Newman was writing controversially and in a very different style from anything he had done before. We tend to think of the *Tracts for the Times* as the main vehicles for the Tractarian party to spread their views; but also of great importance were the periodicals, the *British Magazine* and then the *British Critic*. These gave a vehicle for articles which

---

<sup>5</sup> *L.D.*, xxiv, p.242.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *H.S.*, i, p.294.

<sup>7</sup> Ker, I.T 'Newman the Satirist', *Newman after a Hundred Years*, ed.Hill, A.G. & Ker, I.T., (Oxford, 1990), pp.1-20.

<sup>8</sup> See *L.D.*, iii, pp.257-8, 298.

could express the Tractarian viewpoint but in a more secular context. The latter was edited by Newman himself from 1838 to 1841, and under his editorship it became much more outspoken in style. Newman encouraged contributors such as Tom Mozley whose writing was often more outrageously satirical than his own, even more so after he succeeded Newman as editor.<sup>9</sup> The lively tone of the *British Critic* in these years is the context in which the development of Newman's satire should be viewed.

An early article by Newman will give the flavour, 'Exeter Hall' which appeared in July 1838. Ker does not mention this in his survey of Newman's satirical writings, perhaps because Newman did not reprint it when he later collected other articles as *Essays Critical and Historical* in 1871. It is a review of *Random Recollections of Exeter Hall in 1834-1837 By one of the Protestant Party* which had just been published. Exeter Hall was the meeting place of the Evangelicals and particularly of the anti-Catholic societies; the book Newman was reviewing was intended as a sympathetic account of its proceedings and notable speakers. He begins his review with an historical account of early Church synods with their atmosphere of solemnity and reverence which he contrasts with the practices of the 'New Religion', that is, the Protestantism of his day. The ancient practice of almsgiving is contrasted with the modern charity bazaar:

. . . much might be said of the potent influence exerted on such occasions by the young ladies who oftentimes take their station at the booths and vend their charity. Aged bishops are said, of old time, to have exerted an arm of force, and to have compelled others to enjoy the privileges, and undertake the duties of the Christian Church; - but now-a-days, bright eyes and tasteful bonnets are found more effective, and, though we do not pretend to be connoisseurs in the matter ourselves, we certainly have read in the public prints that, whatever their advantage in the ball-room, our charming countrywomen never look so well as in a morning dress.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> See Trevor, M., op.cit., p.249.

<sup>10</sup> 'Exeter Hall', *The British Critic*, XXIV (July 1838), p.197.



To be noted here is Newman's gentle mockery of the way that religion has become mixed up with fashion and social occasions.

'The Temple of this new system', he says, 'is Exeter Hall':

its holytide is "the London season;" its chancel is a platform; its cathedral throne is the chairman's seat; its ministers are the speakers; for holy salutations it uses "Ladies and Gentlemen;" for benedictions it has "cheers;" for a creed it maintains the utility of combination; and for holy services and godly discipline it proclaims civil and religious liberty throughout the world.<sup>11</sup>

He goes on to quote from the book's descriptions of the halls (the building housed two) and detailed accounts of the most celebrated orators. Newman's technique is to let these extracts speak for themselves, bringing out their absurdities or incongruities by italicising key phrases. For example, he quotes passages about the Rev.Mr.Stowell, a noted anti-Catholic Anglican clergyman:

"His face is large and broad;" "his eyes blue and laughing," and "his mouth, which is very wide, *garnished with splendid white teeth.*" We are told that "his images are striking, sometimes rather coarse, and his style often the most jocular, *even to broad comic effect;*" that "no speaker more frequently *sets the Hall in a roar,*" and that it is a question "which makes the most noise in proportion, Mr.Stowell or his audience."<sup>12</sup>

Newman's point is the incongruity of such descriptions when the speakers are supposedly speaking on sacred subjects:

what is there of a religious character in exhibitions, which to a deaf person, or to one who was suddenly introduced to them without knowledge of the societies to which they belonged, taken at greatest advantage, would not differ at all, or scarcely, from those of any other meeting, political or other, which take place in the

---

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p.198.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p.204.

metropolis? . . . we cannot help coming to the conclusion that, while Exeter Hall has throughout all its floors the dry rot of irreverence, some of its speakers are but stage players at best, and at worst actual drolls and merry andrews.<sup>13</sup>

Newman was not alone, incidentally, in finding Exeter Hall grotesque. Before *Punch* became a champion of the campaign against the 'Papal Aggression', it had published a cartoon of 'A Prospect of Exeter Hall, Showing a Christian Gentleman Denouncynge ye Pope', together with a mock Pepys' diary entry describing a meeting.<sup>14</sup>

*(b) The British Critic (II): Anglican attitudes*

Another article in the *British Critic* which Newman chose not to include in his collected works (and also not discussed in Ker's account of his satire) was 'Elliott's Travels.' (April, 1839). This was a review of *Travels in the Three Great Empires of Austria, Russia and Turkey* by C.B.Elliott (2 vols., Bentley, 1838). What Newman found funny, and to some extent distasteful, about Mr.Elliott's account of his travels was his extreme insularity. The volumes, said Newman,

do not disclose nearly so much about the countries they advertise, as about Mr.Elliott himself; or at least their principal charm lies in the relation existing between the traveller and his adventures, in his exquisite appreciation of the worth of every thing of English manufacture, whether English comfort, or English Ultra-Protestantism, and his consequent annoyance, dejection, or contempt when he meets with things and person moulded upon a different standard.<sup>15</sup>

He quotes many extracts from the book in illustration, letting Elliott speak for himself, so that the reader gets to know Elliott's voice and manner, sometimes drawing attention to Elliott's distinctive obsession with material comfort and his other attitudes by once again

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.211.

<sup>14</sup> *Punch*, 1849, Vol.16, p.206.

<sup>15</sup> 'Elliott's Travels', *The British Critic*, Vol. XXV (April 1839), p.306.

italicising words and phrases. He also emphasises Elliott's ignorant approach towards the religious sites and persons he visits: 'we are sorry to detect in him, what is a great fault in religious matters, a want of duly realizing what he is doing or talking about; so that he will use solemn words to round a sentence, speak disrespectfully of sacred subjects . . .'<sup>16</sup> The review in itself is of only marginal interest now, but the reader of *Present Position* will immediately recognise Elliot as one of those 'men of contracted ideas, who cannot fancy things going on differently from what they have themselves witnessed at home, and laugh at everything because it is strange' who are so vividly caricatured in Lecture VII (pp.295ff). As I indicate in my Editor's Note on the passage, the story Newman tells in this Lecture about a country gentleman undertaking a continental tour who thought himself prepared for anything abroad provided he had 'a good beef-steak every day' (p.296) had in fact already appeared in the Elliott article. This is perhaps the clearest single example of the way that *Present Position* is a continuation of Newman's *British Critic* satire.

'The State of the Religious Parties', published in the *British Critic* article in April 1839, contains a passage of sustained irony on the Anglican ability to hold mutually contradictory beliefs:

In the present day mistiness is the mother of wisdom. A man who can set down half a dozen general propositions, which escape from destroying one another only by being diluted into truisms, who can hold the balance between opposites so skilfully as to do without fulcrum or beam, who never enunciates a truth without guarding himself from being supposed to exclude the contradictory, who holds that Scripture is the only authority, yet that the Church is to be deferred to, that faith only justifies, yet that it does not justify without works . . . this is your safe man and the hope of the Church; this is what the Church is said to want, not party men,

---

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p.316.



but sensible, temperate, sober, well-judging persons, to guide it through the channel of No-meaning, between the Scylla and Charybdis of Aye and No.<sup>17</sup>

What attracts Newman's withering satire here is the respectability which masks inconsistency. The same phenomenon is to be found in *Present Position* in the Protestant father 'in his house, his family, and his circle of friends, in his occupation, and his civil and political position, as a good kind father, as a liberal master, as a useful member of society' who ends up ruthlessly persecuting members of his own family who have become Catholics (pp.184-6).

It is significant that the subject of Newman's satire is often the habits and attitudes of the middle and upper classes. For example, in an article on the 'The American Church' later in the same year (October 1839) Newman noted the danger of attraction of this episcopalian sister-church of Anglicanism to the 'respectable' classes in the United States: 'If this view of things is allowed a footing, a sleek gentleman-like religion will grow up within the sacred pale'. On the comfortably furnished churches he comments with irony, 'we think we may say without fear of mistake, that pews, carpets, cushions and fine speaking are not developments of the Apostolical Succession.'<sup>18</sup> This is the milieu of the same comfortable bourgeois Protestantism which Newman will reveal to be so prejudiced in *Present Position*.

Particularly significant is Newman's article on 'The Protestant Idea of Antichrist', a review of Todd's *Discourses on the Prophecies Relating to Antichrist*, in *The British Critic* in October 1840. This contains a witty critique of Bishop Thomas Newton. Newton was the main source for the Anglican tradition of identifying the papacy with Antichrist, yet he himself was a worldly and careerist cleric who lived a life of ease while asserting that the Pope was the Beast of the Apocalypse and all Roman Catholics were servants of the devil who were going to hell. Newman brings out the incongruity of Newton's comfortable

---

<sup>17</sup> *Ess.*, i p.302.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p.350.

lifestyle by quoting from Newton's own autobiography, again italicising to bring out the incongruities. In this Newton referred to himself in the third person, which only served to make his accounts of the way he obtained promotion in the Church of England through the influence of aristocratic friends sound all the more self-satisfied:

"Dr. Newton . . . had the honour of being in some measure known to the Earl of Bute, having baptized one or two of his children, and having sometimes met him at Leicester House, when as chaplain he had been in attendance upon the Princess of Wales. *He had also presented to him the three volumes of his Dissertations on the Prophecies, having obtained the favour of his lordship to present them to the Prince of Wales.* Upon the death of Bishop Sherlock, Lord Bute told a noble lord, a particular friend of Dr. Newton's, *that he would certainly be the new bishop*, and would be obliged to no minister for his promotion: it was entirely the doing of the king himself and the Princess of Wales. . . . He" [the Duke of Newcastle] "had been so long used to shuffle and cut the cards, that he well knew how to pack them in such a manner as to have the *honours*" [for instance, the see of London] "dealt to his particular friends."<sup>19</sup>

Newman also quotes Newton's own account of his getting married, which reveals that the good bishop's motives were entirely financial and practical. From "his *old principle* of avoiding as much as possible the *trouble* of housekeeping" Newton had been boarding with friends, but

"The breaking up of the family naturally engaged him to *think seriously again of matrimony* . . . And *especially*," he continues, "*when he had some prospect of a bishopric*, fresh *difficulties* and *troubles* opened to his view; there would be a better table and public days to be kept; and he plainly foresaw that he must either fall a prey to servants or must look out for some clever sensible woman to be his wife, who had some knowledge and experience of the world, who was a prudent

---

<sup>19</sup> *Ess.*, ii., p.135.

manager, who could do the honours of his table in a becoming manner . . . .” He was at this time fifty-seven, and “it was happy for him,” he adds, “that such a woman was in his eye,” one whom “he had known from a little child in a white frock, and had observed her through all the parts of her life.”<sup>20</sup>:

The picture which emerges is that of a typical eighteenth century cleric whose a career in the Church of England sat incongruously with stern denunciation of the Papacy as Antichrist. Newman summed up:

A man so idolatrous of comfort, so liquorish of preferment, whose most fervent aspiration apparently was that he might ride in a carriage and sleep on down, whose keenest sorrow that he could not get a second appointment without relinquishing the first, who cast a regretful look back upon his own dinner while he was at supper, and anticipated his morning chocolate in his evening muffins, who will say that this is the man, not merely to unchurch, but to smite, to ban, to wither the whole of Christendom for many centuries, and the greatest part of it even in his own day.<sup>21</sup>

Such satirical use of food was to be a feature of Newman’s other critiques of the culture of Establishment Protestantism; it recurs in his depiction of the Prejudiced Man in *Present Position* Lecture VII<sup>22</sup> and is in fact an important feature of his satire there, as I discuss below. It is not that Newman had an ascetic objection to food; it is the incongruity of the combination of a comfortable self-indulgent lifestyle with vehement anti-Catholic self-righteousness. Newman makes his point even more strongly by contrasting Newton’s life with the selfless dedication of Catholic saints such as St.Charles Borromeo; yet such a man was, by Newton’s theory, a follower of Antichrist. Newman asks of those who ‘so confidently and solemnly pronounce Christian Rome to be Babylon’

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p.138.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp.138-9.

<sup>22</sup> *Prepos.*, pp.255ff.



Do they know what they say? . . . Do they *in faith* make over the millions upon millions now and in former times who have been in subjection to the Roman See to utter and hopeless perdition? Do they in very truth look upon them as the direct and open enemies of God, and children of Satan?<sup>23</sup>

It is the *unreality* of the Protestant view which Newman so effectively attacks here. This unreality and inconsistency is a recurrent target of his satire.

This article is a precursor of *Present Position* in a number ways. For instance, discussing the evidence which Protestant polemicists use to support the Pope being called Antichrist, Newman reveals a number of historical inaccuracies. Newton had stated that the Pope “*is styled and pleased to be styled our Lord God the Pope*”, but this turns out to be based on a gloss of a canonist which occurred in the course of an argument, ‘the object of which was to prove that the Pope’s words were to be obeyed, *because, as all law, civil inclusive, they were the decision of God*.’<sup>24</sup> This is the kind of mistake which the Russian Count in Lecture I of *Present Position* makes when he reads a legal textbook and takes it for a dreadful blasphemy.

Very close in style to *Present Position* was Newman’s article on ‘Private Judgment’ (July, 1841). Here he satirises the inconsistency of the Protestant claim to believe in the right of private judgement in religious matters (as opposed to the Catholic principle of authority):

If a staunch Protestant’s daughter turns Roman, and betakes herself to a convent, why does he not exult in the occurrence? Why does he not give a public breakfast, or hold a meeting, or erect a memorial or write a pamphlet in honour of her, and of the great undying principle she has so gloriously vindicated? Why is he in this base, disloyal style muttering about priests, and Jesuits, and the horrors of nunneries, in solution of the phenomenon, when he has the fair and ample form of

---

<sup>23</sup> *Ess.*, ii, p.147-8.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

Private Judgment rising before his eyes, and pleading with him?<sup>25</sup>

The effective touch here is the use of concrete details - the public breakfast, meeting, memorial or pamphlet – and the indirect imitation of the Protestant father's mutterings, 'priests, and Jesuits and the horrors of nunneries'. This passage, which Ker quotes, was in fact preceded by one which is an even closer precursor of *Present Position* (p.187), as I indicate below.<sup>26</sup> So parallel indeed are the style and structure of the two passages that the fundamental continuity of Newman's Anglican and Catholic satire is evident.

(c) *The British Critic (III): Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*

Surprisingly, Ker does not mention one satiric gem which Newman did later republish, his article on 'Selina, Countess of Huntingdon' which appeared in *The British Critic* in October 1840. This was a review of the recently published biography of this aristocratic patron of Methodism. Newman begins with a generous appreciation of her: 'she devoted herself, her name, her means, her time, her thoughts, to the cause of Christ.' However, her biography was evidently a blend of hagiography and snobbery, and Newman has great fun with this:

Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, being the second daughter of Washington, Earl Ferrers, was noble both by birth and marriage; and it will not be the fault of her biographers, if posterity is not fully aware of this fact. Before opening the volume, we encounter her arms, with coronet, supporters and motto, in gilt, upon the side of it. We open it, and are met with her portrait, with the coronet above it, and her arms below, not however as before, but according to a second device. Then comes the title-page, and here a third representation of her arms presents itself, and according to a third device; and we are informed, in addition, that the memoir which is to follow is the work of "a *member* of the noble houses of Huntingdon and

---

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p.340.

<sup>26</sup> It is quoted in full in my Editor's Note on this passage.

Ferrers.” This is but a specimen of the whole book.<sup>27</sup>

The Introduction not only gives ‘a minute account of the ancestral peculiarities’ of the lady’s family but also ‘contains genealogical notes . . . so copious that, put together, they would go far to make up a Lodge or Debrett.’ Newman suggests, a touch mischievously, that such worship of rank is because Methodism has discarded the authority of bishops: ‘Disbelieving the existence of a divine priesthood, it will ever gaze with awe and reverence at the high station or splendid connections or noble birth of the children of men.’ And he goes on to quote (using italicisation again, in this case to bring out the unconscious snobbery) the book’s account of how a certain Dr.Haweis had been deprived of his curacy for his Methodist leanings

*yet he had had influence, and was of a good family*, long resident in Cornwall, and well known as Haweis of St.Coose. His mother, Miss Bridgman Willyams, was the only daughter of, etc. Her mother was a sister of the last Baron Sandys of the Vines, etc. etc., whose eldest sister, Hester, was granddaughter and heiress of, etc. etc. etc.

It is quite clear, he comments, that the aristocratic biographer

has been taught by his own people, that whatever excuse may be made for a bishop’s acting vigourously towards snobs or *parvenus*, none at all of any sort or kind can be made for his curbing the zeal of well-connected ranters or gentleman-like heretics: the very idea of which argues a degree of presumption which need but be recorded to receive the deserved condemnation of an impartial posterity.<sup>28</sup>

This irony Newman surely learnt from Gibbon – the final sentence, in particular, is exactly his style. Another superb passage is Newman’s comment on a saying of Frederic, Prince of Wales, whose court Lady Huntingdon attended and whom she hoped to persuade to the Methodist cause. Asking on one occasion where the Lady was and being told that she was

---

<sup>27</sup> *Ess.*, i, p.390.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p.392.



praying with beggars, the Prince apparently said, ““When I am dying, I think I shall be happy to *seize the skirt* of Lady Huntingdon’s mantle, *to lift me up* with her to Heaven.””

Newman goes on:

Such a speech in a royal mouth surely gives a favourable impression of the speaker; such is *our* judgment of it; but we marvel that the Calvinistic biographer of Lady Huntingdon allows it to pass without a protest. Surely he must feel in his heart, that, under the language of Scripture, it savours of what he considers the leaven of Popery, that it interferes with the doctrine of justification by faith only, ascribes to Lady Huntingdon works of supererogation, tends to saint-worship, and encourages the notion that the intervention of one man can be of service to the soul of another.<sup>29</sup>

With the use once again of ironic italicisation, Newman illustrates the extraordinary confusion of obsequiousness and piety in the Methodist leader Whitfield’s attitude to Lady Huntingdon: Whitfield wrote that he was ““quite astonished at her ladyship’s condescension, *and* the unmerited superabounding grace and goodness of Him who has loved me” etc.”<sup>30</sup> He also plays on the idea that Lady Huntingdon’s rank became a theological substitute for episcopal authority: ‘the rulers of the Church did not understand her mission, and Lady Huntingdon became acting bishop instead of them’, quoting from the biography a letter by Whitfield which describes her as having

“five clergymen under her roof, which makes her ladyship look *like a good archbishop, with his chaplains around him*. . . . we have the sacrament every morning, heavenly conversation all day, and preach at night. This is to live at court indeed!”

He finds passages in the biography which show her issuing instructions and reprovals to various clergymen, which he introduces with ‘Thus she speaks *ex cathedrâ*, - Selena

---

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp.400-401.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p.393.

Episcopa . . . ’ He concludes, ‘Might not this be a translation from St.Basil, bating the proper names, or the allocution of some Pope, whose legates had been insulted?’<sup>31</sup>

Newman had struck a rich vein for satire – some of his material was simply a gift. For instance, the biography evidently makes much of a certain Mr.Madan, who, as well as being of course from a most well-connected family, became a zealous Methodist preacher; the biographer waxes eloquent in heavily Scriptural language about his gifts and virtues in passages which Newman quotes in detail. And then, in a technique which the French critic Fernande Tardivel was to note Newman using in *Present Position* (see below, Section V), he builds up to a climax which brings the whole edifice crashing down:

At a later date, this gentleman, thus paralleled to St.John and St.Barnabas, baptized with fire and enlightened in the nature of regeneration, actually wrote a book, called “Thelyphthora, or a Treatise on Female Ruin,” in which he advocates polygamy, as an expedient for setting things straight.<sup>32</sup>

#### (d) *The Tamworth Reading Room*

Newman’s most sustained satire in his Anglican writings, Ker notes, is the *Tamworth Reading Room* letters which he wrote anonymously as ‘Catholicus’ for *The Times* in 1841. These attacked the speech made by Sir Robert Peel at the opening of a new public library. Peel had taken a wholly utilitarian line, presenting the knowledge provided by such an educational institution as effecting moral improvement in people, being, in effect, a substitute for religion. In her unpublished critical edition of *The Tamworth Reading Room* (1964), Nina Burgis analyses Newman’s techniques. For instance, she comments on his mockery of Peel:

This treatment ensures that the reader identifies himself with ‘Catholicus’ who is witty and sensible and whose seriousness is never solemn. An invitation to the

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p.413, 414.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p.419.

reader to share the writer's superiority to another's foolishness or ignorance is not very frequent in Newman . . . In the 'Tamworth Reading Room' [it] functions as a rhetorical means to enlist support for his views.<sup>33</sup>

As we shall see below, the stance of Newman himself as the speaker in the *Present Position* lectures was to be an important part of his rhetorical strategy: starting with a pose of innocence, Newman makes the spokesmen of Protestantism whom he quotes or invents look foolish (see Section IV 'The Satire.'). Burgis also notes that one of the grounds on which Newman attacks Peel is that he is speaking 'on a subject to which he had never given any deep thought and in consequence he was "unreal", as we are, in Newman's words, "when we speak on a subject with which are minds are not familiar."'”<sup>34</sup> This is precisely the ground on which he attacks the prejudiced Protestant who thinks he understands Catholicism but in reality does not in Lecture VIII of *Present Position*.

Newman's use of 'parallelism or antithesis in the constituents of phrases and sentences' is noted by Burgis. She adds the comment that in his longer works 'such verbal patterning is less frequent although sometimes more elaborate than in *The Tamworth Reading Room*.'<sup>35</sup> As I demonstrate below, there is certainly very subtle use of such verbal patterning in *Present Position*. Far from its being 'less frequent', I would in fact say that it was a notable feature of the Lectures' style. Here is a typical pair of balanced sentences, from Lecture VI:

Tame facts, elaborate inductions, subtle presumptions, will not avail with the many; something which will cut a dash, something gaudy and staring, something inflammatory, is the rhetoric in request; he must make up his mind then to resign the populace to the action of the Catholic Church, or he must slander her to her

---

<sup>33</sup> Burgis, Nina F., *An Edition of Newman's Tamworth Reading Room with introduction and textual and expository apparatus* (London University M.A. thesis, 1964), p.162.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p.176; the Newman quotation is from *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, Vol.V, pp.34-5.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp.183-4.



greater confusion. (p.225)

Many similar examples could be quoted.

Another of the stylistic features which Burgis notes in *The Tamworth Reading Room* is the way that Newman draws on 'the colloquial and even slang to give a nicely judged informality and directness to his tone and an edge to his attack . . . this extension of his diction to words and turns of phrase belonging to the spoken word rather than the written language'. This colloquial tone is indeed strongly marked in *Present Position* (although, as I have indicated above, Newman's textual revisions of the Fourth Edition toned it down). Burgis makes the interesting observation that Hurrell Froude's letters to Newman share this characteristic of colloquialism.<sup>36</sup> After Froude's death, his papers and letters were edited by Keble and Newman and published as his *Remains* (Volumes I and II in 1838, Volumes III and IV in 1839). Newman commented that 'His letters approach to conversation' and praised their 'unaffectedness, playfulness, brilliancy' and the way they expressed Froude's 'utter hatred of pretence and humbug.'<sup>37</sup> The later papers showed Froude's 'leaning to Popery, nay his bitter hatred of our Reformers'<sup>38</sup> and were an important influence on Newman who when he first read them recorded that they 'quite made my head whirl, and have put things in quite a new light.'<sup>39</sup> I suggest that their 'uncompromising anti-Protestantism' and lively style were in fact a remote influence on *Present Position*.

Burgis makes a further interesting comment on a feature of *The Tamworth Reading Room*: Newman's 'embodying of his theme with the *personae* of Peel and "Catholicus" as representatives of opposed views running through the series [of letters]'.<sup>40</sup> I will be

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p.191.

<sup>37</sup> *L.D.*, vi, p.87-9.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p.118.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p.120.

<sup>40</sup> Burgis, op.cit. p.190.

arguing below (Section IV 'The Satire') that this is just how *Present Position* works, with Newman embodying his theme of anti-Catholic prejudice in a series of Protestant opponents, some of them imaginary in this case while others are real, whom he shows to be ignorant or prejudiced.

In his discussion of *The Tamworth Reading Room* Ker analyses Newman's satirical techniques, quoting a number of examples of the way that Newman makes Peel look ridiculous.<sup>41</sup> Peel had claimed that knowledge of the sciences not only was 'the means of useful occupation and rational recreation' but also contributed to 'the moral improvement of the community'; so Newman asks:

how these wonderful moral effects are to be wrought under the instrumentality of the physical sciences. Can the process be analyzed and drawn out, or does it act like a dose or a charm which comes into general use empirically?

I would add a further extract from this passage which uses the technique of dramatised characters which we will find in *Present Position*:

To know is one thing, to do is another; the two things are altogether distinct. A man knows he should get up in the morning, - he lies a-bed; he knows he should not lose his temper, yet he cannot keep it. A labouring man knows he should not go to the ale-house, and his wife knows she should not filch when she goes out charing; but nevertheless, in these cases, the consciousness of a duty is not all one with the performance of it.

These down to earth examples are typical of Newman's satire. They make Peel look ridiculous because they show how unrealistic his theory of 'moral improvement' is when applied to ordinary life. The more ordinary Newman's examples, the more unreal Peel's theory is revealed to be. Hence Newman's deliberate touches of colloquialism: 'lies a-bed', 'ale-house', 'filches', 'goes out charing'. I would also add a passage from a little later on in which Newman makes fun of the way that scientific knowledge is presented by Peel as a

---

<sup>41</sup> Ker, op.cit., p.12ff.

distraction from the ills of human nature:

When a husband is gloomy, or an old woman peevish and fretful, those who are about them do all they can to keep dangerous topics and causes of offence out of the way, and think themselves lucky, if, by such skilful management, they get through the day without an outbreak. When a child cries, the nurserymaid dances it about, or points to the pretty black horses out of the window, or shows how ashamed poll-parrot or poor puss must be of its tantrums. Such is the sort of prescription which Sir Robert Peel offers to the good people of Tamworth.

This has the distinctive feature of Newman's best satire in *Present Position*: the imitating of a speaker's voice, in this case the nurserymaid's baby-language of 'the pretty black horses', 'poll-parrot' and 'poor puss'.

Like Burgis, Ker notes Newman's use of a colloquial tone of voice in *The Tamworth Reading Room*.<sup>42</sup> He sees it as adding to the sense of the outrageously incongruous in passages such as:

Such is this new art of living, offered to the labouring classes, - we will say, for instance, in a severe winter, snow on the ground, glass falling, bread rising, coal at 20d, the cwt., and no work.<sup>43</sup>

I agree with Ker that the humour comes from the incongruity of the idea that such down to earth problems will be alleviated by the solace of scientific knowledge gained in a Reading Room. What is effective about a passage like this is not only the colloquialism but also the sentence structure with its verbal patterning ('glass falling, bread rising') and rhythm, leading to the emphatic climax 'no work.'

To sum up, the full picture of Newman's Anglican satire enables us to see *Present Position* in a truer perspective. What emerges is that the lectures were certainly not just the product of a zealous convert's newly-sharpened wit at the expense of his former co-

---

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p.13.

<sup>43</sup> *D.A.*, pp.262, 264, 268.



religionists. Newman's awareness of the absurdities of the Protestant mind-set went back much further. He was not descending to some unworthy ridicule for the sake of Catholic polemic. His satire of the comfortable English Protestant establishment, both clerical and lay, had been well-established. and he was already adept at the techniques which he went on to use in the *Present Position* in a more fully developed and sustained way.

(e) *Catholic satire (I): Loss and Gain*

When Newman became a Catholic his satire certainly flowered. His first work was in a new genre: the novel, *Loss and Gain* (1847), which he wrote while he was in Rome. Here there is certainly a new exuberance which one senses also in some of his letters of this period. He had just decided on becoming an Oratorian and his fellow converts who had been with him at Littlemore were summoned to join him from England so that they could all make their novitiate together. Newman wrote about the sort of people who would be right for an Oratorian community; he wanted men

with a good deal of fun in them – for that will be especially wanted in an Oratory. .

. . I should like a good mimic to take off the great Exeter Hall guns.<sup>44</sup>

Here is a clue to much of the satire of Newman's Catholic phase. It is mimicry. Newman himself was to prove a good mimic who could 'take off' his satirical subjects. As I argue below (in Section IV), much of *Present Position* can be seen as a series of ironic impersonations of prejudiced Protestants.

*Loss and Gain* is full of mimicry. Almost all the religious parties in the Oxford of the 1840s are represented. There is Bateman, the enthusiastic Anglo-Catholic who has been restoring a chapel in full Catholic style - except that the statue niches and candlesticks have to remain empty of statues and candles. He hosts a breakfast-party to which he invites guests of different theological persuasions, among them the hero Charles Reding, his friend Sheffield, Mr. Freeborn, an Evangelical, and White 'a sharp, but not very wise

---

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in Trevor, Meriol, *Newman – The Pillar of the Cloud*, (London, 1962), p.412.

freshman, who, having been spoiled at home, and having plenty of money, professed to be *aesthetic*, and kept his college authorities in a perpetual fidget lest he should some morning wake up a papist'.<sup>45</sup> White provocatively praises Catholic customs and beliefs, and a discussion ensues which reveals the divided state of Anglican opinion. The scene is punctuated by food: at the start 'Sheffield was pouring out coffee, and a plate of muffins was going round, and Bateman was engaged, saucepan in hand, in the operation of landing his eggs, now boiled, upon the table.'<sup>46</sup> At a key point in the discussion 'It was a relief . . . that the cook's boy came in with a dish of hot sausages'.<sup>47</sup> At the end, Freeborn's vehement defence of justification by faith has been attacked by all the others and 'He finished in silence his sausage, which had gone quite cold.'<sup>48</sup>

Later in the book, Freeborn himself hosts a tea-party where he hopes to exert some influence on Charles who is becoming more Tractarian in his views. Newman creates the atmosphere of an earnest Evangelical tea-party, with a brilliant use of dialogue. The conversation, Charles finds, consists of

a dropping fire of serious remarks; with pauses, relieved only by occasional "ahems," the sipping of tea, the sound of spoons falling against saucers, and the blind shifting of chairs as the flurried servant-maid of the lodgings suddenly came upon them from behind, with the kettle for the teapot, or toast for the table. There was no nature or elasticity in the party, but a great intention to be profitable.

"Have you seen the last *Spiritual Journal*?" asked No.1 of No.2 in a low voice.

No.2 had just read it.

"A very remarkable article that," said No.1, "upon the death-bed of the Pope."

"No one is beyond hope," answered No.2.

---

<sup>45</sup> *L.G.*, p.35.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p.38.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p.41.

“I have heard of it, but not seen it,” said No.3.

A pause.

“What is it about?” asked Reding.

“The late Pope Sixtus the Sixteenth,” said No.3; “he seems to have died a believer.”

A sensation. Charles looked as if he wished to know more.<sup>49</sup>

Newman’s use of numbers rather than names is an effective touch, making the earnest Evangelicals seem all of a kind, a technique that is Dickensian in style. No.2 goes on to give the account of how “Mr.O’Niggins, the agent for the Roman Priest Conversion Branch Tract Society” had an audience of the Pope to whom he apparently preached with great effect. The party is greatly edified:

“A brand from the burning, I do hope,” said No.3.

“It has frequently been observed,” said No.4, “nay it has struck me myself, that the way to convert Romanists is first to convert the Pope.”

“It is a sure way, at least,” said Charles timidly, afraid he was saying too much; but his irony was not discovered.<sup>50</sup>

This is strongly reminiscent of Dickens. It can be compared, for instance, with the passage in *Nicholas Nickleby* in which the cruel schoolmaster Squeers demonstrates to Nicholas his cynical method of education which consists of making the pupils do menial household jobs on the pretext that it helps them to know the meanings of the words involved. Squeers sums up:

“That’s our system, Nickleby; what do you think of it?”

“It’s a very useful one, at any rate,” answered Nicholas.

“I believe you,” rejoined Squeers, not remarking the emphasis of his usher.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p.146-7.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p.148.

<sup>51</sup> Dickens, C., *Nicholas Nickleby*(1839; Oxford 1950 edn.), p.91.



Dickens' satire is on the cruel unreality of Squeers claiming to be educating but in reality exploiting his hapless charges. Newman's satire is on the naïvely unreal world that the Evangelicals inhabit, believing Mr.O'Higgins' account of how he converted the Pope to Protestantism, as they sip their tea. Their naïvety makes them absurd, and, as in Dickens, the unreality of the situation is highlighted by the presence of the detached observer, of whose irony others are unaware. The way that Protestant ignorance leads to ridiculous misunderstanding is to be an important theme of *Present Position*, especially in Lectures VI and VIII. We, the readers, see it from the position of Nickleby or Reding.

As I suggest below in my discussion of the 'Prejudiced Man' sections of Lecture VI, the character in *Loss and Gain* who reappears in all but name in *Present Position* is Mr.Vincent, one of the junior tutors in Charles's college. Newman's initial description of him prepares the ground:

he was of a full habit, with a florid complexion and large blue eyes, and showed a deal of linen at his bosom, and full wristbands at his cuffs. Though a clever man, and a hard reader and worker, and a capital tutor, he was a good feeder as well; he ate and drank, as he walked and rode, with as much heart as he lectured in Aristotle or crammed in Greek plays. . . . Beside this he preached a good sermon, read prayers with unction, and in his conversation sometimes had even a touch of evangelical spirituality. The young men even declared they could tell how much port he had taken in Common-room by the devoutness of his responses in evening-chapel.<sup>52</sup>

This is just the mixture of worldliness and religion which Newman has satirised in his *British Critic* articles. Mr.Vincent appears in two major scenes of the novel, both of them meals:

A tutor's breakfast is always a difficult affair both for host and guests; and Vincent piqued himself on the tact with which he managed it. The material part was easy

---

<sup>52</sup> *L.G.*, p.74.

enough; there were rolls, toast, muffins, eggs, cold lamb, strawberries, on the table; and in due season the college-servant brought in mutton-cutlets and broiled ham; and every one ate to his heart's, or rather his appetite's, content. It was a more arduous undertaking to provide the running accompaniment of thought, or at least of words, without which the breakfast would have been little better than a pig-trough.<sup>53</sup>

Mr.Vincent's conversation flits from subject to subject, with instant authoritative pronouncements made on all of them, such as "It is pretty well ascertained that inhaling gases is the cure for all kinds of disease." Towards the end of the meal the college manciple enters with the menu for dinner for Mr.Vincent to approve:

"Watkins," he said, giving it back to him, "I almost think to-day is one of the Fasts of the Church. Go and look, Watkins, and bring me word."

. . . Watkins returned sooner than could have been expected. He said that Mr.Vincent was right; to-day he had found was "the feast of the Apostles."

"The Vigil of St.Peter, you mean, Watkins," said Mr.Vincent; "I thought so. Then let us have a plain beefsteak and a saddle of mutton; no Portugal onions, Watkins, or currant-jelly; and some simple pudding, Charlotte pudding, Watkins – that will do."<sup>54</sup>

Mr.Vincent then proceeds to warn Charles against "pushing things *too far*" in his theological views. He ends up giving a lengthy encomium on the English divines and the Church of England which he praises precisely for its lack of doctrinal unity: "Even our greatest divines differed from each other in many respects; nay Bishop Taylor differed from himself. It was a great principle in the English Church. Her true children agree to differ." This reaches its climax in a description of the church as a tree which "sheds its fruits upon the free earth, for the bird of the air and the beast of the field, and all sorts of

---

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p.75-6.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p.80.

cattle, to eat thereof and rejoice.”<sup>55</sup> Newman here brings together the food satire, the theological disunity and the pompous, pseudo-Biblical rhetoric of establishment Protestantism.

Mr. Vincent turns up again later and gives his news on the alleged imminent return to Anglicanism of the Catholic convert, Willis, in a passage which I argue below is closely paralleled in *Present Position*. As we will see, Newman is satirising the way that Protestants deal with conversions by a mixture of wishful thinking and deliberate rumour-spreading. For the moment, we may note how Newman puts prejudiced anti-Catholic criticism into the mouth of someone whose habits are worldly, not to say gluttonous. The scene is a dinner, during which Mr. Vincent lectures Charles and his friends on the importance of moderation:

“My young friend,” said Vincent, finishing his mutton, and pushing his plate from him, “. . . may you learn a little more judgment. When you have lived to my age . . . you will learn sobriety in all things. Mr. Reding, another glass of wine.”<sup>56</sup>

One could argue that Newman is rather heavy-handed here, unfairly prejudicing the reader against this representative of Church of England ‘moderation’. Surely, however, Mr. Vincent is in a long literary tradition of comic worldly clerics, such as Fielding’s Parson Barnabas in *Joseph Andrews*.

More importantly, Newman is making, as he had done in his *British Critic* articles, a serious point about the culture of Anglicanism. In a more serious part of *Loss and Gain*, Charles Reding explains to his sister:

“I cannot bear the pomp and pretence I see everywhere. . . . Here are ministers of Christ with large incomes, living in finely furnished houses, with wives and families, and stately butlers and servants in livery, giving dinners all in the best style, condescending and gracious, waving their hands and mincing their words, as

---

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., pp.84-5.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p.175.



if they were the cream of the earth, but without anything to make them clergymen but a black coat and a white tie. . . . What I mean is, that there is a worldly air about everything, as unlike as possible the spirit of the Gospel. I don't impute to the dons ambition or avarice; but still, what Heads of houses, Fellows, and all of them evidently put before them as an end is, to enjoy the world in the first place, and to serve God in the second. Not that they don't make it their final object to get to heaven; but their immediate object is to be comfortable, to marry, to have a fair income, station, and respectability, a convenient house, a pleasant country, a sociable neighbourhood.<sup>57</sup>

Towards the end of the book, when Charles is about to become a Catholic, we meet a collection of just such dons in after-dinner conversation in their college Common-Room. They are discussing converts, 'a painful and disgusting subject to the whole party, two or three curious and hard minds excepted, to whom opposition to Catholicism was meat and drink.'<sup>58</sup> A group of them are discussing Charles: they have varying explanations for his conversion and are equally confident about its causes. For one "Disappointment is generally at the bottom of these cases"; another comments, "Poor devils! They can't help it," to which his companion replies, "A good riddance, anyhow . . . we shall have a little peace at last." Another splutters, "How any educated man should – ", while a fourth declares, "It's all the effect of rationalism . . . the whole movement is rationalistic. At the end of three years all those persons who have now apostatized will be infidels." Finally, another of the dons suggests, "I suppose you never heard it hinted that there is something wrong *here* in Mr.Reding," touching his forehead significantly; "I have been told it's in the family." This chorus of disapproval and insinuation is briefly interrupted by 'a deep, powerful voice, belonging to a person who sat in the corner' who silences the others by saying, "I respect him uncommonly; I have an extreme respect for him. He's an honest

---

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p.257.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p.359.

man; I wish others were as honest. If they were, then, as the Puseyites are becoming Catholics, so we should see old Brownside and his clique [*theological liberals*] becoming Unitarians. But they mean to stick in.” This respite is only brief, however; soon the ‘clear, cackling voice’ of Fusby says that Charles was overheard talking “with some *attaché* of the Popish Chapel” in his first year, which is true but Charles was in fact trying to dissuade a fellow undergraduate from attending it. Fusby has had his “eye . . . on Mr.Reding for some years” and knows that “there are two or three more yet to come; you will see.” At this, even Mr.Vincent is moved to comment, “I consider *myself* a good Protestant; but the pleasure you have in hunting these men is quite sensual, Fusby.”<sup>59</sup>

These prejudiced reactions to conversion will be found again in *Present Position* (pp.243ff.) where the ‘voices’ are given in indirect speech but the effect is similar. I discuss them below and parallel them with further passages from *Loss and Gain*. There is one further section in the novel where Charles himself has to endure face to face criticism about his conversion, this time from the Redings’ old family friend, Mr.Malcolm. Since Charles’s father has died earlier (as Newman’s had, long before his conversion process began), Mr.Malcolm is the father-figure in the book, and the scene is almost as painful as the one of Charles’s last leave-taking from his mother which I give below. Mr.Malcolm puts maximum pressure on Charles, trying to make him feel guilty about what he is doing:

“Well Charles, . . . I have known you from this high; more, from a child in arms. A frank, open boy you were; I don’t know what has spoiled you. These Jesuits, perhaps . . . It was not so in your father’s lifetime.”

He

“could have told you a great deal about these Catholics. . . . I know how these things happen quite well. I have seen such things before; only I thought you were a more sensible fellow.”

He tells stories of previous converts whose motives were apparently snobbery or having

---

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., pp.360-3.

fallen for a pretty Catholic girl. He points out Charles's ignorance of the reality of Catholics, whereas he, Mr. Malcolm

had had his own experience of thirty or forty years, and, like some great philosophers, he made that personal experience of his the decisive test of the possible and the true. "I know them," he continued – "I know them; a set of hypocrites and sharpers. I could tell you stories of what I fell in with abroad. Those priests are not to be trusted."

Charles tries to reply, pointing out that whatever he said, Mr. Malcolm would use against him: "had I known this or that priest, you would have said at once, 'Ah, he came over you.' If I had been familiar with Catholic chapels, 'I was allured by the singing or the incense.'" So Mr. Malcolm falls back on the declaration

"I know what the upshot will be; you will come back – come back you will, to a dead certainty. We shall see you back, foolish boy, after you have had your gallop over your ploughed field. . . . you are high and mighty now, and are in full sail: you may come to your father's friend some day in a different temper."<sup>60</sup>

All these techniques of putting pressure on a convert Newman illustrates in *Present Position*, too, as we shall see.

*Loss and Gain* thus contains much material which Newman quarried again for the *Present Position* lectures. It perhaps explains why the Protestant spokesman who appears in the lectures in various forms (a convert's father, the Prejudiced Man, the 'pattern men' and so on) is so often an authority figure. He combines father, clergyman, don – all the representatives of traditional Anglican culture. But his roots, as we have seen, lie further back in Newman's increasingly detached view of that culture which he developed during his Oxford Movement days. Newman's satire is thus part of a far deeper critique of his society than the context of Catholic-Protestant controversy might at first suggest.

---

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., pp.417-8.



(f) *Catholic satire (II): Anglican Difficulties*

Ker sees Newman's two major satirical works as his *Lectures on Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in submitting to the Catholic Church* of 1850 and of course *Present Position* a year later. The former were occasioned by the Gorham case in which the Privy Council ruled that a Church of England clergyman did not have to believe in baptismal regeneration. For the Tractarians who had not followed Newman into the Catholic Church this was a bitter blow since it meant that the Anglican Church now sanctioned a teaching on Baptism which by no stretch of the imagination was compatible with historic Catholic orthodoxy. Newman used this opportunity to address members of the Oxford Movement and demonstrate that the movement was ultimately incompatible with the Church of England and that its real and inevitable direction was communion with Rome. In the course of his arguments he certainly uses much irony about both the unreality of the Anglo-Catholic 'dream' and the real state of the Protestant Establishment. Ker praises the lectures' 'marvellous comic imagery [which] is meant to laugh Anglo-Catholics out of their unreal fantasies and pretensions'. He quotes one such passage which is 'uncannily reminiscent of Dickens':<sup>61</sup>

There is no lying, or standing, or sitting, or kneeling, or stooping there, in any possible attitude . . . when you would rest your head, your legs are forced out between the Articles, and when you would relieve your back, your head strikes against the Prayer Book; when, place yourself as you will. On the right side or the left and try to keep as still as you can, your flesh is ever being punctured and probed by the stings of Bishops, laity, and nine-tenths of the Clergy buzzing about you.<sup>62</sup>

Another memorable passage is Newman's crisply realistic summing-up of the way that a state church such as the Church of England must reflect the will of the nation which is

---

<sup>61</sup> Ker, I., *John Henry Newman*, (London, 1980), p.358.

<sup>62</sup> *Diff.*, i, p.167.

simply the will of 'the world':

The world believes in the world's ends as the greatest of goods; it wishes society to be governed simply and entirely for the sake of this world. Provided it could gain one little islet in the ocean, one foot upon the coast, if it could cheapen tea by sixpence a pound, or make its flag respected among the Esquimaux or Otaheitans, at the cost of a hundred lives and a hundred souls, it would think it a very good bargain.<sup>63</sup>

This indeed has the characteristic colloquial tone of Newman's satirical voice.

However, such passages are local in *Anglican Difficulties*, and the overall tone of the book is fundamentally serious. There are no examples of satirical mimicry. A number of Protestant 'voices' are indeed allowed to speak for themselves, such as in the quotations from Archdeacon Hare in Lecture II or from Jeremy Taylor and Lord Falkland in the final lecture.<sup>64</sup> However, Newman does not do this for the purposes of ridicule but rather to reveal to his intended Anglo-Catholic readership the real nature of their church. There are certainly no passages of sustained satire and nothing at which one laughs aloud. The nearest he comes to it is the account of the violent uproar occasioned by a Tractarian clergyman's donning of a surplice in Church which the staunchly Protestant congregation see as a Popish corruption. Newman precedes the account with a characteristic build-up to an ironic climax:

It would be little or nothing though the minister baptized without water, though he chucked away the consecrated wine, though he denounced fasting, though he laughed at virginity, though he interchanged pulpits with a Wesleyan or a Baptist, though he defied his Bishop; he might be blamed, he might be disliked, he might be remonstrated with; but he would not touch the feelings of men; he would not inflame their minds; - but, bring home to them the very thought of Catholicism,

---

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p.235.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., pp.45, 389-391.

hold up a surplice, and the religious building is as full of excitement and tumult as St.Victor's at Milan in the cause of orthodoxy, or St.Giles', Edinburgh, for the Kirk.<sup>65</sup>

But such passages are relatively few in these lectures and they are mostly confined to Part I on the Oxford Movement. Part II, which is concerned with removing apparent obstacles to acceptance of Catholicism, has very little that is satirical. Indeed, it develops an ecclesiology to account for popular abuses and corruptions within the Catholic Church. As I argue below, this underlies some of what Newman says in *Present Position*, but it is certainly not satire.

(g) *Educational satire: Students and parents*

Newman wrote little that is satirical after *Present Position*. His next major work which appeared only a year after the lectures was *The Idea of a University* (1852). This is very different in tone from *Present Position*, although Lecture IX (pp.391-392) looks ahead to the central theme of the Discourses which make up the first part of the *Idea*. However, the less often read second part, the 'Occasional Lectures and Essays Addressed to the Members of the Catholic University', does contain one minor piece of satiric writing: the article on 'Elementary Studies.' This is concerned with the principles of learning, and Newman illustrates these with two imaginary interviews with candidates for university entrance.<sup>66</sup> The first of these is a young man who claims to have read an impressive list of classical authors but who is quickly revealed to be unable to explain the background of Xenophon's *Anabasis* and whose grasp of the fundamentals of grammar and syntax is weak. The interview is set out in playscript format, and the dialogue is colloquial, with Newman showing a real sense of comic timing. Here is the hapless candidate unable to explain the significance of 'anabasis' meaning 'an ascent' (the interviewing Tutor is 'T',

---

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p.63.

<sup>66</sup> *Idea*, pp.336-340.



and the Candidate 'C'):

T. That is right . . . an ascent; but I thought we called it a *descent* when a foreign army carried war into a country?

C. *is silent.*

T. Don't we talk of a descent of barbarians?

C. Yes.

T. Why then are the Greeks said to go *up*?

C. They went up to fight the Persian king.

T. Yes; but why *up* ... but could you give no reason why they are said to go *up* to Persia, not *down*?

C. They went *up* to Persia.

T. Why do you not say they went *down*?

C. *pauses, then, . . .* They went *down* to Persia.

T. You have misunderstood me.

*A silence.*

T. *Why* do you not say *down*?

C. I do . . . *down*.

T. You have got confused; you know very well.

C. I understood you to ask why I did not say "they went *down*".

*A silence on both sides.*

T. Have you come up to Dublin or down?

C. I came up.

T. Why do we call it coming *up*?

C. *thinks, then smiles, then . . .* We *always* call it coming up to Dublin.

T. Well, but you always have a *reason* for what you do . . . what is your reason here?

C. *is silent.*

T. Come, come, Mr. Brown, I won't believe you don't know; I am sure you have a very good reason for saying you go up to Dublin, not *down*.

C. *thinks, then* . . . It is the capital.

T. Very well; now was Persia the capital?

C. Yes.

T. Well . . . no . . . not exactly . . . <sup>67</sup>

What is well caught here is the don's increasingly desperate attempts to help the boy get it right and the boy's increasing panic.

There is also an exchange of letters between the don and the boy's proud father during which Newman gives us a sample of the hapless boy's pretentious poetry and superficial essay-writing. The father's covering letter has the tone of the self-satisfied parent who is peeved that his son has been rejected by the university: 'He is indeed a most exemplary lad: fathers are partial, and their word about their children is commonly not to be taken; but I flatter myself that the present case is an exception to the rule'. He goes on to imply that the don 'trifle[d] over minutiae' in the interview and lectures him that 'the vigour of the youthful mind is but *wasted* on *barren* learning'.<sup>68</sup> Newman is making all sorts of serious points in this article about how 'a thorough knowledge of one science and a superficial acquaintance with many, are not the same thing', but he does so through some highly entertaining satire not only of the weak university candidate but also of his too indulgent father. He had doubtless had much experience of this situation in his days as a Tutor at Oriel (and would surely experience more when he came to found the Oratory School). It is characteristic, however, that Newman is once again satirising a pompous parent who is quite sure that he is right when in fact he is wrong.

---

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp.338-9.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p.352-4.

(h) *Catholic satire (III): Callista*

Newman's second novel, *Callista* (1855) is much more serious than *Loss and Gain* since it is about the persecution of Christians: it includes a detailed account of a violent riot and culminates in a grisly scene of martyrdom. However, parts of it do have a satirical edge to them. The Christian hero, Agellius, has a worldly uncle, Jucundus, who is really a picture of the typical Victorian's attitude to Catholicism. Here he is on the subject of converts to Christianity:

"No one's safe; anyone may be a Christian; it's an epidemic. . . . By the genius of Rome, something must be done. I say no one is safe. You call on your friend; he is sitting in the dark, unwashed, uncombed, undressed. What is the matter? Ah! his son has turned Christian. Your wedding day is fixed, you are expecting your bride; she does not come; why? she will not have you; she has become a Christian. Where's young Nomentanus? Who has seen Nomentanus? in the forum or the campus, in the circus, in the bath? Has he caught the plague, or got a sunstroke? Nothing of the kind; the Christians have caught hold of him."<sup>69</sup>

This echoes the paranoia of a Protestant parents that their son or daughter will become a 'pervert' to Popery, perhaps even become a priest or nun. Newman deals with this at length in *Present Position*. Jucundus cannot understand his nephew's Christianity and is alarmed at the prospect that he might make a public declaration of it because of the embarrassment it would cause himself: 'He was attached to his nephew; but, be it said without disrespect to him, he was more attached to his reputation.'<sup>70</sup> For Jucundus, worship of the gods is simply a part of being a good Roman citizen:

He knew his own position perfectly well, and, though the words "belief" or "knowledge" did not come into his religious vocabulary, he could at once, without hesitation, state what he professed and maintained. He stood upon the established

---

<sup>69</sup> *Call.*, p.32.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p.43.



order of things, on the traditions of Rome, and the laws of the empire.<sup>71</sup>

This is just the language of a Victorian paterfamilias, secure in his traditional Protestant outlook because it is the religion and tradition of the British Empire.

A particularly good scene is the one where Jucundus runs through the various Roman forms of marriage which Agellius could undergo, eventually recommending *matrimonium ex usu* which actually just means living together:

“. . . the great advantage here is that you have no ceremonies whatever, nothing which can in any way startle your sensitive mind . . . You would simply take her home here; if, as time went on, you got on well together, it would be a marriage; if not,” and he shrugged his shoulders, “no harm’s done; you are both free.”<sup>72</sup>

He then cannot understand why the Christian Agellius should be so appalled by this suggestion. This is effective satire because only a very liberal Victorian indeed would have gone along with this lax attitude towards marriage, but the tone in which Jucundus speaks throughout is that of the reasonable man who is only trying to do what is sensible and avoid fuss.

There is a close echo of *Present Position*’s argument about First Principles in Lecture VII. Jucundus attacks Agellius’s profession of Christianity on the grounds that he is being ‘so preternaturally sour and morose as to misconceive and dislike the innocent, graceful, humanizing, time-honoured usages of society.’ This is a circular argument since it assumes (what Newman’s Victorian readers would of course not assume) that the practices of pagan Rome, including the barbarities of the circus, were innocent, graceful and humanizing; therefore Agellius *must* be sour and morose to reject them. So Agellius replies:

“You have it all your own way, Jucundus, . . . and so you must move in your own circle, round and round. There is no touching you, if you first assume your

---

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p.44.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p.57.

premises, and then prove them by means of your conclusion.”<sup>73</sup>

In *Present Position*, Newman has shown that nineteenth century Protestants similarly have assumptions about the obvious rightness of their beliefs and the wrongness of Catholicism which make them sure that Catholics are either very stupid or very wicked not to agree with them. As with Newman’s Protestant contemporaries, Jucundus is unaware of his assumed First Principles. He is another of Newman’s establishment father-figures who is sure he is right:

“My dear Agellius,” said his uncle, giving his head a very solemn shake, “take the advice of an old man. When you are older than you are, you will better see who is right and who is wrong. You’ll be sorry you despised me, a true, a prudent, an experienced friend; you will.”<sup>74</sup>

This is the same tone as that of Mr. Malcolm in *Loss and Gain*, on whom Charles Reding was similarly unable to make any impression, or the Prejudiced Man in *Present Position*.

The food motif even re-appears in *Callista*. As Thomas Vargish points out, the sunny, rational pagans make the glorification of their gods an excuse for revelling and licence. This had appeared in *Present Position* in moderate Anglican mode in the Prejudiced Man’s obsession with lamb and goose at the appropriate festive seasons, a passage I discuss in detail below (Section IV).<sup>75</sup>

#### (i) Catholic satire (IV): *The Apologia*

Overall, *Callista* is a sombre book, however. Although he had begun it in 1848, by the time he completed it Newman was moving out of his early exuberant years as a Catholic and into the period of more or less frustrating toil which would not be lifted until the publication of the *Apologia pro Vita Sua* in 1864. That deeply personal defence of his

---

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p.137.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., pp.137-8.

<sup>75</sup> Vargish, Thomas, *Newman. The Contemplation of Mind*, (Oxford, 1970), n. 1, p.93.



integrity sprang, of course, from controversy. The exchange of correspondence which preceded Newman's decision to tell the whole story of his conversion in fact contains some lively satire on Kingsley. As is well known, Kingsley's initial attack was the almost throwaway remark that 'Truth, for its own sake, had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not, and on the whole ought not to be.' When Newman first objected to this, Kingsley proposed the draft of a letter purporting to express his 'heartly regret at having so seriously mistaken him.' Newman exposed the disingenuousness of this by paralleling Kingsley's letter with an 'unjust, but too probable, popular rendering of it' which mimics Kingsley's tone while expressing his real meaning.<sup>76</sup> Then when Kingsley actually published a slightly cut-down version of the letter, Newman produced some 'reflections' on it which turn the controversy into an imaginary dialogue between himself and Kingsley. Here Kingsley's tone, a mixture of self-righteousness, bluster and evasion, is satirically recreated by Newman:

Mr.Kingsley begins then by exclaiming, - "O the chicanery, the wholesale fraud, the vile hypocrisy, the conscience-killing tyranny of Rome! We have not far to seek for an evidence of it. There's Father Newman to wit: one living specimen is worth a hundred dead ones. He, a Priest writing of Priests, tells us that lying is never any harm."

I interpose: "You are taking a most extraordinary liberty with my name. If I have said this, tell me when and where."

Mr.Kingsley replies: "You said it, Reverend Sir, in a Sermon which you preached, when a Protestant, as Vicar of St.Mary's, and published in 1844; and I could read you a very salutary lecture on the effects which that Sermon had at the time on my own opinion of you."

I make answer: "Oh . . . *not*, it seems, as a Priest speaking of Priests; - but let us have the passage."

---

<sup>76</sup> See *Apo.*, pp.23-24.



Mr.Kingsley relaxes: "Do you know, I like your *tone*. From your *tone* I rejoice, greatly rejoice, to be able to believe that you did not mean what you said."

I rejoin: "*Mean* it! I maintain I never *said* it, whether as a Protestant or as a Catholic."

Mr.Kingsley replies: "I waive that point."

I object: "Is it possible! What? waive the main question! I either said it or I didn't. You have made a monstrous charge against me; direct, distinct, public. You are bound to prove it as directly, as distinctly, as publicly; - or to own you can't."

"Well," says Mr.Kingsley, "if you are quite sure you did not say it, I'll take your word for it; I really will."

My *word*! I am dumb. Somehow I thought that it was my *word* that happened to be on trial. The *word* of a Professor of lying, that he does not lie!

But Mr.Kingsley re-assures me: "We are both gentleman," he says: "I have done as much as one English gentleman can expect from another."<sup>77</sup>

This dialogue is an example of the ironic impersonation which I below identify as *Present Position*'s principal satirical technique. Blending phrases from Kingsley's actual writing with mimicry of his tone, it establishes a satirical persona of the overconfident 'Mr.Kingsley'; Newman emerges as his victim who is obviously injured and shocked while at the same time being highly effective in analysing Kingsley's evasions and contradictions.

Kingsley's lengthy pamphlet in reply, *What, then, does Dr.Newman Mean?*, pretended to accept Newman's innocence of the original charge while actually bringing many more, much worse, charges against him. They are a mish-mash of accusations, but Newman saw that they were all based on a misunderstanding of everything about Newman which itself arose from Kingsley's own blinkered assumptions. He commented at the very beginning

---

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., pp.27-28.

of the *Apologia* that ‘minds in different states and circumstances cannot understand one another’ so that ‘children do not apprehend the thoughts of grown people, nor savages the instincts of civilisation, nor blind men the perceptions of sight, nor pagans the doctrines of Christianity’. He gives as an example the Russian Count passage in Lecture I of *Present Position*:

In a Lecture of mine I have illustrated this phenomenon by the supposed instance of a foreigner, who, after reading a commentary on the principles of English Law, does not get nearer to a real apprehension of them than to be led to accuse Englishmen of considering that the Queen is impeccable and infallible, and that the Parliament is omnipotent. Mr.Kingsley has read me from beginning to end in the fashion in which the hypothetical Russian read Blackstone; not I repeat from malice, but because of his intellectual build. He appears to be so constituted as to have no notion of what goes on in minds very different from his own, and moreover to be stone-blind to his ignorance.<sup>78</sup>

As Thomas Vargish put it, ‘In a sense Newman years before had created the Kingsley - surely the worst of possible Kingsleys - who figured in the controversy. . . . The hypothetical Russian we recognise as Newman’s own creation in *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* who is a parody of English anti-Roman sentiment.’<sup>79</sup> So *Present Position* had prepared the way for Newman to deal with Kingsley. Indeed, Newman’s insight into the key issue of First Principles, explained at length in Lecture VII, was what made him realise that the ‘True Mode of Meeting Mr.Kingsley’ was by telling his own story so that readers could enter into Newman’s mind and see that which Kingsley was so ignorant of.

Newman was already skilled at satirising the ignorant man who cannot enter into another’s mind. As I have been demonstrating, Newman had been doing it for years, both

---

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p.70.

<sup>79</sup> Vargish, op.cit., p.174.



as an Anglican and as a Catholic. As we have seen, he did it by using such a person's own words against him; Kingsley's pamphlet certainly now provided Newman with material for satire which he ruthlessly exploited in Part One of the *Apologia*, 'Mr.Kingsley's Method of Disputation'. Newman quotes heavily from the pamphlet, so that we get thoroughly used to (and irritated by) the Kingsley 'voice', while also telling us what Kingsley really means or is implying. We are thus ready to be convinced when Newman puts words into Kingsley's mouth, making him say what the real purpose of this pamphlet is - to bring new charges against Newman, after having failed to substantiate his original accusation. Kingsley is depicted as really saying,

"Vain man! . . . If you have not broken one commandment, let us see whether we cannot convict you of another. If you are not a swindler or forger, you are guilty of arson or burglary. By hook or by hook you shall not escape. Are *you* to suffer or *I*? What does it matter to you who are going off the stage, to receive a slight additional daub upon a character so deeply stained already? But think of me, the immaculate lover of Truth, so observant (as I have told you, p.33) of '*hault courage* and strict honour,' – and (*aside*) – 'and not as this publican' – do you think I can let you go scot free instead of myself? No; *noblesse oblige*. Go to the shades, old man, and boast that Achilles sent you thither."<sup>80</sup>

In this type of ironic impersonation the persona confesses, indeed boasts, what he is really doing (but would not of course admit in real life) while speaking in his own recognisable voice. Newman had used an even more extreme version of it in the Achilli 'confession' passage in *Present Position*.

It is all the more effective that, in Part Two, 'True Mode of Meeting Mr.Kingsley', Newman says that Kingsley 'really thinks that he acts a straightforward honest part' in making his accusation that Newman was at heart a secret Catholic while preaching as Vicar of St.Mary's. It strikes Newman that this is 'the impression of large numbers of

---

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p.73.



men' who felt the same. Kingsley thus becomes a representative figure of all those who saw Newman and the Oxford Movement as part of a Catholic conspiracy. Newman imagines them saying, as his followers gradually became Catholics,

“You will see, *he* will go, he is only biding his time, he is waiting the word of command from Rome,” and when after all, after my arguments and denunciations of former years, at length I did leave the Anglican Church for the Roman, then they said to each other, “It is just as we said: I told you so.”<sup>81</sup>

This misunderstanding of Newman's real position has thus been dramatised, first in the person of Kingsley and then by extension in the wider Protestant public. The rest of the *Apologia* is then an explanation of the truth about Newman, an attempt to enlighten those who are ignorant. The book's immediate and enduring success is a mark of how persuasively Newman achieved his aim. The *Apologia*'s literary pre-eminence has tended to overshadow his other works. However, its debt to *Present Position*, and indeed to the rest of Newman's satire, is perhaps greater than has been recognised.

Certainly, any critical attempt to set up a contrast between the *Apologia* and the more 'polemical' works such as *Present Position* now looks misguided. The line of development which leads to the *Apologia* clearly includes them, nor are they fundamentally different in kind from it. In this respect, one must perhaps be a little careful in using the term 'satire' of Newman's work. Ian Ker's highlighting of this neglected aspect of Newman has been invaluable, and I have indicated my great debt to him. One could, however, play Devil's Advocate by pointing out that Newman himself disclaims the term in a significant emendation he made to Lecture VI in the Fourth Edition of *Present Position*. In that lecture he has been considering the nature of Prejudice, and he concludes that it 'depends on the will' and therefore 'it is not, cannot be, innocent, because it is directed, not against things, but against persons, against God's rational creatures, against our fellows, towards all of whom we owe the duties of humanity and charity.' To persist

---

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p.91.

in believing the worst about others, without any evidence, 'is simple malevolence, deplorable, shocking, inexcusable' (pp.234-5). This is by way of preliminary to his observation that this, unfortunately, is exactly the behaviour of prejudiced Protestants towards Catholics, as he has demonstrated by many examples. They

would rather involve themselves in the most patent incongruities and absurdities, would rather make sport, as they do by their conduct, for their enemies in the four quarters of the earth, than be betrayed into any portion – I will not say of justice, I will not say of humanity and mercy, but of simple reasonableness and common sense, in their behaviour to the professors of the Catholic Religion; so much so, that to state even drily and accurately what they do daily is to risk being blamed for ridicule and satire, which if anywhere, would be simply gratuitous and officious in this matter, where truth most assuredly, "when unadorned," is "adorned the most."

To which in the Fourth Edition he added:

This risk, as far as I am incurring it myself in these Lectures, I cannot help; I cannot help if, in exposing the prejudice of my countrymen, I incur the imputation of using satire against them. I do not wish to do so; (pp.235-6)

So is Newman using 'satire' or not? The distinction he is making is an important one. The usual definition of satire is that is 'a composition in which prevailing vices or follies are held up to ridicule'. The Victorians used the term to imply a malicious intent on the part of the satirist. For instance, the critic Dowden wrote of George Eliot's *Middlemarch* that 'a great proportion of the book is only not a satire because with the word satire we are accustomed to associate exaggeration and malicious purpose.'<sup>82</sup> The O.E.D. also notes that the word is sometimes less correctly applied to something which is intended to ridicule a particular person or class or persons, in other words, a lampoon. This involves an attack which is personally directed and which is deliberately cruel. These are the nineteenth century senses in which Newman was at pains to avoid 'the imputation of using satire'.

---

<sup>82</sup> *Stud. Lit.* 278; quoted in *O.E.D.*, 'Satire', I, 1.



For instance, in the last sections of the *Apologia* he explains his attitude towards the Church of England and towards Anglicans themselves. Of *Loss and Gain* he commented,

In this Tale, all the best characters are sober Church-of-England people. No Tractarians proper are introduced: and this is noticed in the Advertisement: “No *proper* representative is intended in this Tale, of the religious opinions, which lately had so much influence in the University of Oxford.” There *could* not be such in the Tale, without the introduction of friends, which was impossible in its very notion. But, since the scene was to be laid during the very years, and at the headquarters, of Tractarianism, some expedient was necessary to meet what was a great difficulty. My expedient was the introduction of what may be called Tractarians *improper*; and I took them the more readily, because, though I knew that such there were, I knew none of them personally. I mean such men as I used to consider of “the gilt-gingerbread school,” from whom I expected little good, persons whose religion lay in ritualism or architecture, and who “played at Popery” or at Anglicanism.<sup>83</sup>

He goes on to deny specifically the suggestion that any of the characters represent actual individuals. The same could presumably be said about the various dons.

Of *Present Position*, Newman said in the same place that the Lectures

have nothing to do with the Church of England as such; they are directed against the Protestant or Ultra-Protestant Tradition on the subject of Catholicism since the time of Queen Elizabeth, in which parties indeed in the Church of England have largely participated, but which cannot be confused with Anglican teaching itself. . . If I spoke in them against the Church Established, it was because, and so far as, at the time when they were delivered, the Establishment took a violent part against the Catholic Church, on the basis of the Protestant Tradition.

So Newman is definite that he was not lampooning Anglicanism, much less Anglicans.

---

<sup>83</sup> *Apo.*, p.330.



This we would surely admit. The only subject of personal, named, attack by Newman in *Present Position* is Achilli, and nobody would today dispute that he thoroughly deserved it. Nor is he satirised – he claimed he was actually libelled. The other real people whose anti-Catholicism is revealed are shown up by their own words rather than by any ‘satirical’ depiction of them, most notably the Protestant Scripture Reader with his ignorant misinterpretation of the ceremony of Benediction. Hence the importance of Newman’s use of quotation which we have seen. The fictional characters are, he stresses, so close to life that he fears readers might take them for real people and, again, accuse him of personal attack (see below, Section IV, p.68), but his point is that such a mistaken identification would only serve to show how real is the prejudice he is revealing.

Newman’s point is, then, that none of this is satire in the sense of ridiculous exaggeration. Much of the prejudice he reveals is indeed ridiculous, but it is the truth, not a ‘satire’. A modern historian, such as Griffin so much agrees, on the basis of the actual historical evidence of Victorian anti-Catholicism, that he does not think the Lectures should be classed as satire at all (see below, Section V). The argument thus comes down to a definition of satire. *Present Position* is certainly not *merely* satire in any pejorative sense. Today we are surely much happier to use the term without implying malice. Whether there was in fact any underlying ill-will in Newman towards the subjects of his satire seems to me a judgement which is not a literary one. Was he being uncharitable? All we can say is that the historical evidence indicates that he certainly was not being unfair. In the extract from *Present Position* I have been discussing, he goes on to point out that nothing he says is aimed at ‘the matter or rites of Protestant worship’ (unlike the constant vilification of Catholic ‘mummeries’ by Protestant writers). He is only concerned with

Protestants malevolent, belligerent, busy, and zealous in an aggression upon our character and conduct. *We* do not treat *them* with suspicion, contempt, and aversion: this is their treatment of *us*; our only vengeance, surely it is not a great

one, is to make a careful analysis of that treatment.

Given the historical imbalance against Catholicism in post-reformation Anglo-Saxon culture, Newman's satire seems to me a very mild 'vengeance' indeed.

## IV. THE SATIRE

### *(a) John Bull, the Protestant Englishman*

In his Preface, Newman reminds his readers that these lectures were given to the 'Brothers of the Oratory', an association of laymen attached to the Birmingham Oratory, and that the lectures' purpose was to suggest to them 'how best to master their own position and to perform their duties in a Protestant country.' And in the first Lecture he explains that his subject is

to inquire why it is, that, in this intelligent nation, and in this rational nineteenth century, we Catholics are so despised and hated by our own countrymen.<sup>1</sup>

So ostensibly these lectures are a sort of training for the Brothers which will take the form of an inquiry into the reasons for Protestant anti-Catholic prejudice. Throughout he does indeed address his audience as 'Brothers', and in the final Lecture he gives his advice about how they should conduct themselves.

But Newman was well aware that he had another audience: the Protestant world outside. He was, after all, a nationally known figure, the most famous of the Oxford Movement converts, and he knew that anything he said in the present excited conditions would be reported and reacted to by the Protestant world. This indirect approach by Newman to his real audience has been analysed by Carl Frandsen in his unpublished thesis on the rhetoric of these lectures.<sup>2</sup> He argues that it was a well thought out rhetorical strategy: by making a seemingly dispassionate historical analysis into the origins of anti-Catholic prejudice, Newman could end by destroying the prejudice of the unsuspecting Protestant reader through the very act of analysing it. Frandsen compares Newman's strategy here to Pope's in the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* where there is the same pose of an injured innocent speaking

---

<sup>1</sup> *Prepos.*, p.1.

<sup>2</sup> Frandsen, Carl F., *A Rhetorical Analysis of John Henry Newman's Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England*, Diss., The City University of New York, Ph.D., 1975.



to a friendly audience. Newman's stance of a Catholic speaking to Catholics forces the Protestant reader into the role of a bystander who is listening in on the demolition of the absurdities of his own Protestant bigotry. It is important to remember that there were some Protestants actually in Newman's audience in the Corn Exchange, as he makes us aware at the very end of the lectures when he 'thank[s] those also, who, though not of our communion, have honoured me with their attendance'.<sup>3</sup> He goes on to ask them to 'think over what I have said even if they have not been altogether pleased with my manner of saying it'. On the face of it, this looks like an apology for either his lack of skill or for being too satirical, for which, as we have seen, his more hostile readers such as Archdeacon Hare did criticise him. However, more importantly, it implies that there can be no objection to the *matter* of his arguments, only their manner. He knows that any open-minded non-Catholic listeners will actually have enjoyed his satire and will be sympathetic to 'one who has spoken boldly on an unpopular subject in a difficult time'.<sup>4</sup>

Newman's strategy is all the more effective because of his use of humour which is directed at vividly realised examples of prejudiced people. Throughout the lectures ideas or viewpoints (mostly, but not only, those of prejudice) are put into the mouths of characters whom Newman presents with great vividness. The most entertaining of these is the Russian Count in Lecture I who is a brilliant caricature of a speaker at a 'No Popery' meeting.<sup>5</sup> In my Editor's Notes I trace the various features of an anti-Catholic speaker which Newman has given him by paralleling the speech with actual examples of anti-Catholic writings which are to be found among Newman's preparatory papers for *Present Position*. Modern readers can appreciate the humour better, the more we realise just how close the Count's absurdities are to the arguments used by anti-Catholic polemicists. Newman has caught their techniques perfectly - their jumbling of fact and fiction, their

---

<sup>3</sup> *Prepos.*, p.402.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p.403.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.24-41.

frantic misunderstandings of the language of Catholic theology - and makes wicked fun of them. This passage surely deserves to be in any anthology of satirical writing.

However, the episode, superbly sustained as it is, is not really typical of the rest of the book, since it works by analogy - the Count is not a realistic Russian as such. The characteristic figure in the lectures is one who is not only realistic but very recognisable: he is the Protestant Englishman in the domestic setting of Victorian anti-Catholicism. As such, he is the unifying figure of these lectures and gives them their satirical life. He first appears in Lecture II. He is 'John Bull' whose old furniture has all been replaced in the new nineteenth century except for his 'old family picture of the Man and the Lion' - his view of Catholicism. Newman makes him recognisable as a middle class English gentleman in the references to his upbringing which has provided him with his opinions 'in the nursery, in the school-room, in the lecture-class, from the pulpit, in the newspaper, in society'. He has the tone of the bluff, complacent Englishman who knows that Catholics are rogues because

"I recollect, what a noise, when I was young, the Catholic Relief Bill made: because my father and the old clergyman said so, and Lord Eldon, and George the Third; and there was Mr. Pitt obliged to give up office, and Lord George Gordon, long before that, made a riot, and the Catholic Chapels were burned down all over the country."<sup>6</sup>

A whole world is briefly evoked here in the mixture of home life and events read of in newspapers. The repeated use of 'and' catches the tone of someone listing things which he associates in his mind, and the very heterogeneity of the items thus yoked together gives a slightly naïve quality to the sentence, whose length and simple structure are childlike. The tone of slightly defensive bluster is thus caught, with the Englishman sounding already just a little ridiculous.

The technique is intensified a few pages later. Newman again has the man speaking so

---

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p.45.



that we hear his typical tone. The speaker is given a series of statements, each one longer and more defensive than the last, as if he is becoming more and more heated in an argument. Asked why he believes that Catholicism is so odious,

he would say something of this sort: "I am *sure* it is;" he will look significant, and say, "You will find it a hard job to make me think otherwise;" or he will look wise, and say, "I can make a pretty good guess how things go on among you;" or he will be angry, and cry out, "Those fellows, the priests, I would not believe them, though they swore themselves black in the face;" or he will speak loudly, and overbear and drown all remonstrance: "It is too notorious for proof; every one knows it; every book says it; it has been so ruled long ago. It is rather too much in the nineteenth century to be told to begin history again, and to have to reverse our elementary facts."<sup>7</sup>

The techniques being used here are those of the novelist. The man's facial expressions are conveyed with highly effective economy: 'look significant', 'look wise' - we get an impression of smugness. The colloquialisms express the same thing, while also making us feel the speaker's rising exasperation: "pretty good guess . . . Those fellows . . . too notorious . . . rather too much". And there is the complacency of 'in the nineteenth century' - a phrase which Newman nearly always uses with some degree of irony.

Of course the whole passage is ironic, for everything which the speaker says exemplifies the very problem which Newman is addressing in these lectures: Protestant prejudice. The speaker has no first-hand evidence and yet he is, at the outset, "*sure*". On the basis of his ignorance the speaker can make "a pretty good guess" about Catholic practices - but in the lectures we are going to see just how wildly wrong such Protestant guesses are. The fact that "every book says it" is part of the evidence of the Protestant propaganda which Newman is going to reveal as having formed English culture since the Reformation. And the speaker's reaction to the idea of having "to reverse our elementary facts" reveals him as

---

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp.49-50.



ridiculously hidebound. The man's outrage makes him a comic figure, especially as he has to 'speak loudly, and overbear and drown all remonstrance'. There is the suggestion that all this bluster perhaps conceals unease, that he protests too much. The whole passage also gains in comic effect by our hearing only one side of what is evidently a dialogue. The very silence of the other, Catholic, participant in this dialogue gives the effect of his being the calm, quiet one, patiently pursuing his questions while the Protestant gets more and more cross. This technique isolates the character both from the narrator and from us the readers: we observe his performance with a detached amusement. In this way, Newman makes his Protestant gentleman seem a rather ridiculous figure whom we observe as a specimen of his type. His protestations are presented to us as an interesting, and entertaining, performance but certainly not serious arguments which we have to engage with.

It is not necessary for direct dialogue to be used to achieve these effects. When we next meet the Protestant gentleman a little later in Lecture II, he has been presented with a Catholic denial of the Protestant allegations of corruption. Newman starts by describing the man's reaction:

he will laugh in your face at your simplicity, or lift up hands and eyes at your unparalleled effrontery.

But this soon changes into indirect speech which becomes increasingly colloquial and vivid:

To tell him at his time of life, that Catholics do not rate sin at a fixed price, that they may not get absolution for a sin in prospect, . . . that Catholics would not burn Protestants if they could! Why, all this is as perfectly clear to him, as the sun at noonday; he is ready to leave the matter to the first person he happens to meet; every one will tell us just the same; only let us try; he never knew there was any doubt at all about it: he *is* surprised, he thought we granted it. When he was young, he has heard it said again and again; to his certain knowledge it has uniformly been said the last, forty, fifty, sixty years, and no one has ever denied it; it is so in all the

books he ever looked into; what is the world coming to? What is true, if this is not? So Catholics are to be whitewashed! What next?<sup>8</sup>

The characteristic phrases of the complacent gentleman - 'to tell him at his time of life', 'as perfectly clear . . . as the sun at noonday', 'only let us try', 'forty, fifty, sixty years' and the inevitable 'what is the world coming to?' - are the familiar tones of Letters to the Editor and speeches by backbench M.P.s. It is with this distinctive voice in our ears that we go on to read the quotations from real life anti-Catholic writings which Newman now gives. The verbatim quotations are footnoted by Newman to their real-life sources so that we know he is not exaggerating the kind of accusations that Protestants make. But the quotations appear comic because we are hearing them in the ridiculous tone of voice which Newman has given to the imaginary Protestant speaker. What were intended by their authors as serious anti-Catholic allegations, now appear as absurd. Newman is making brilliant use of the technique of ironic impersonation, with a script partly of his own creating and partly drawn from documentary sources.

### *(b) Prejudice and fables*

He does the same thing when he recounts the incidents surrounding the building of the Oratory house at Edgbaston. He is demonstrating how Protestant fables about Catholic behaviour lead otherwise sensible people into absurdity. In a much quoted passage Newman describes how Protestant onlookers become suspicious of the cellars being constructed for the house:

They go round the building, they peep into the underground brickwork, and are curious about the drains; they moralize about Popery and its spread; at length they trespass upon the inclosure, they dive into the half-finished shell, and they take their fill of seeing what is to be seen, and imagining what is not.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp.78-9.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp.119-120.



Already here the snoopers seem slightly ridiculous: 'curious about the drains', 'take their fill', 'imagining what is not'. Newman's tone as narrator is detached and amused. Soon this moves into indirect speech, and we hear the snoopers' muttered suspicions growing:

Doubtless, there was much in the very idea of an Oratory perplexing to the Protestant intellect, and inconsistent with Protestant notions of comfort and utility.

Why should so large a room be here? why so small a room there? why a passage so long and wide? and why so long a wall without a window?

The questions catch the tone of the person who is rather pleased with himself for having spotted what he is sure is a significant detail, like an amateur detective who is convinced he has found a clue.

Newman mixes narrative and indirect speech as the passage moves to its comic climax:

There was much to suggest matter of suspicion, and to predispose the trespasser to doubt whether he had yet got to the bottom of the subject. At length one question flashed upon his mind: what can such a house have to do with cellars? cellars and monks - what can be their mutual relation? monks, to what possible use can they put pits, and holes, and corners, and outhouses, and sheds? A sensation was created; it brought other visitors; it spread; it became an impression, a belief; the truth lay bare; a tradition was born; a fact was elicited which henceforth had many witnesses. *Those cellars were cells.* How obvious when once stated! and every one who entered the building, every one who passed by, became, I say, in some sort, ocular vouchers for what had often been read of in books, but for many generations had happily been unknown to England, for the incarcerations, the torturings, the starvings, the immurings, the murderings proper to a monastic establishment.<sup>10</sup>

The comedy is generated by the continual juxtaposition of Newman's detached narrative tone and the increasingly fevered colloquialism of the visitors. Thus 'the trespasser' (an

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp.120-1.



economical reminder by Newman that the snoopers were actually intruding on private property) is 'predisposed . . . to doubt'; and then suddenly a question 'flashed upon his mind'. We hear the intruder's thoughts leaping ahead: 'what can . . . ? . . . what can . . . ? . . . to what possible . . . ?' The effect here is almost that of stream of consciousness. Then the illogic and speed of the false deduction in people's minds are mirrored in the speed with which the news spreads among people: 'A sensation . . . an impression, a belief; the truth . . . ; a tradition . . . ; a fact . . . *Those cellars were cells.*' The ironic climax 'How obvious when once stated!' functions both as the words of the onlookers and as Newman's authorial ironic comment on how false assumptions lead to completely false 'obvious' conclusions. The long sentence which concludes the passage similarly moves between Newman's voice and the voices of the Protestant onlookers. We hear Newman's ironic description of them as 'ocular vouchers' which gives them pompously exaggerated seriousness; and then we hear the excited Protestant chatter of 'often been read of in books, but for many generations happily been unknown in England'. This is followed by a list of horrors which could come from a Protestant preacher's rhetoric; 'incarcerations . . . torturings . . . starvings . . . immurings . . . murderings' which are then comically undercut by Newman's ironical use of 'proper to' a monastic establishment - as if he is accepting that this is all just as it should be! In this one sentence, then, Newman is able to move in and out of the voices he has created in the foregoing scenes. The whole passage is a dramatisation of great comic effectiveness.

In this case Newman was making use of the real incident in which the M.P. for Warwickshire, Mr. Richard Spooner, made a speech in the House of Commons about the Edgbaston 'cells'. Newman now goes on to quote the speech, and Spooner's language shows that Newman's Protestant 'voices' are no exaggeration. He is helped, incidentally, by the way that reports of parliamentary debates were always couched in indirect speech:

"It was not usual for a coroner to hold an *inquest*, unless where a rumour had got abroad that there was a *necessity* for one; and how was a rumour to come *from the*

*underground cells of the convents?* Yes, he repeated, underground cells: and he would tell them something about such places. At this moment, in the parish of Edgbaston, within the borough of Birmingham, there was a large convent, of some kind or other, being erected, and the whole of the underground was fitted up with cells; *and what were those cells for?*"<sup>11</sup>

Newman goes on to dissect the full absurdity of the accusation, particularly making fun of the fact that the alleged Catholic murderers are people such as himself, English gentlemen of exactly the same background as their accusers and indeed personally known to them, and yet they are now cast in the role of torturers because of the anti-Catholic fables of the Protestant Tradition.

Newman had replied to Spooner's accusation in a letter to the *Morning Chronicle*.<sup>12</sup> Spooner, however, went on to make a second speech in the House of Commons a few weeks later. He seems to have been a man almost entirely devoid of a sense of humour, since he read the letter of reply aloud to the House, completely missing the irony of Newman's comments on the 'cells':

One is to be a larder, another is to be a coal-hole; beer, perhaps wine, may occupy a third. As to the rest, Mr.Spooner ought to know that we have had ideas of baking and brewing; but I cannot pledge myself to him that such will be their ultimate destination.

Here again we see Newman's mixing of tones, with the prosaic 'larder', 'coal-hole', 'baking and brewing' contrasting bathetically with the mock-serious '... cannot pledge myself ... ultimate destination.' This letter could almost be a passage from the *Present Position*.

---

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp.121-2.

<sup>12</sup> *L.D.*, xiv, pp.282-3.



*(c) Prejudice and converts*

As the lectures progress, the voice of the outraged Protestant speaker has a cumulative effect, because each time we meet the speaker we recognise his tones and anticipate the fool he is going to make of himself. In Lecture V he appears in a family setting, as the Protestant father dissuading his son who is on the point of becoming a Catholic. The father begins affectionately:

“My dear John or James,” the father says, calling him by his Christian name, “you know how tenderly I love you, and how indulgent I have ever been to you. I have given you the best of educations and I have been proud of you.”

There is a hint of self-satisfaction, and even more of emotional blackmail in this parental remonstrance. The father appears to recognise that the son has exercised his right of private judgement in converting to Catholicism, but then he says that he himself has

sacred duties, which are the unavoidable result of your conduct. I have duties to your brothers and sisters; - never see my face again; my door is closed to you. It wounds me to come to this decision, but what can I do?<sup>13</sup>

After the conventional beginning, the sudden ‘never see my face again’ comes as a shock, and in the completely different religious atmosphere of today we may find this passage incredible; but Newman says that such parental reactions are so uniform that he has hesitated to describe it in case he appears to be being personal. This is a slightly disingenuous remark since he is nevertheless using it, but this is part of his rhetorical strategy, in this case to embarrass the Protestant reader who sees his fellows (or even himself) cast in a cruel light.

In a further passage we hear the outraged parent venting his anger at what has happened. Newman perceptively identifies the reason for the animus that lies behind such anger:

Nature pleads; and therefore, to fortify the mind, the various reasons for such severity must be distinctly passed before it, and impressed upon it, and passion

---

<sup>13</sup> *Prepos.*, p.185.



must be roused to overcome affection.<sup>14</sup>

The diatribe that follows, for all the seriousness of the situation, has a certain comedy:

“Such a base, grovelling, demoralizing religion, unworthy of a man of sense, unworthy of a man! I could have borne his turning Drummondite, Plymouth-Brother, or Mormonite. He might almost have joined the Agapemone.”

The list gets increasingly exotic, particularly with the Mormonites’ and the Agapemone’s reputations for polygamy and promiscuity (see the Editor’s Notes). The father actually prefers religions of apparent sexual licence to Catholicism (perhaps because of the celibacy of the Catholic clergy, a constant source of suspicion to the contemporary Protestant mind; it may be hinted at also in ‘unworthy of a man’). But the father continues:

“I would rather see him an unbeliever; yes, I say it deliberately, Popery is worse than Paganism. I had rather see him dead. I could have borne to see him in his coffin. I cannot see him the slave of a priest.”

The rising extremism of his comments is expressed through the rapidity with which he moves from “an unbeliever” to “dead”. The father drives the point home to himself with the morbid detail of “see him in his coffin”. Newman has caught the extreme language which hurt anger produces.

After this climax, Newman allows himself more humour in the second half of the passage where there are variants given to suit whatever the Catholic son has said or not said, done or not done:

“And then the way in which he took the step: he never let me know, and had been received before I had had a hint about it;” or, “he told me what he meant to do, and then did it in spite of me;” or, “he was so weak and silly,” or “so headstrong,” or “so long and obstinately set upon it.” “He had nothing to say for himself,” or “he was always arguing.” “He was inveigled into it by others,” or “he ought to have consulted others, he had no right to have an opinion. Anyhow he is preferring

---

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p.186.

strangers to his true friends; he has shown an utter disregard of the feelings of his parents and relations; he has been ungrateful to his father.”<sup>15</sup>

The comedy here comes from the mutually contradictory responses. Each of the criticisms sounds plausible until it is put against its opposite, so that the reader realises that whatever the son had done, his father would have found it wrong. Newman’s juxtaposition of these different criticisms makes us realise that none of them is the real cause of the father’s anger. They are really all just rationalisations of his antipathy towards Catholicism. In this respect, the passage is a psychological exploration of a parent of a kind we are more used to finding in a novel. Newman had already shown such an ability in his own novel *Loss and Gain*, published in 1848. It is interesting to compare the above with the equivalent passage in the novel when the hero, Charles Reding, makes his final visit to his mother before leaving home to become a Catholic. The writing has a different emotional colouring because it is a mother rather than a father speaking, but the arguments are similar.

There was another silence; then she said, “You won’t find anywhere such friends as have had at home Charles.” Presently she continues, “You have had everything in your favour, Charles; you have been blessed with talents, advantages of education, easy circumstances; many a deserving young man has to scramble on as he can.”

Charles answered that he was deeply sensible how much he owed in temporal matters to Providence, and that it was only at His bidding that he was giving them up.

“We all looked up to you, Charles; perhaps we made too much of you; well, God be with you; you have taken your line.”

Poor Charles said that no one could conceive what it cost him to give up what was so very dear to him, what was part of himself; there was nothing on earth which he prized like his home.

“Then why do you leave us?” she said quickly; “you must have your way; you

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p.187.



do it, I suppose, because you like it.”

“Oh really, my dear mother,” cried he, “if you saw my heart! You know in Scripture how people were obliged in the Apostles’ times to give up all for Christ.”

“We are heathens, then,” she replied; “thank you, Charles, I am obliged to you for this;” and she dashed away a tear from her eye.

Charles was almost beside himself; he did not know what to say; he stood up, and leaned his elbow on the mantelpiece, supporting his head on his hand.

“Well, Charles,” she continued, still going on with her work, “perhaps the day will come” . . . her voice faltered; “your dear father” . . . she put down her work.<sup>16</sup>

Newman was continuing to use these novelistic skills in *Present Position*.

#### *(d) The Prejudiced Man*

The most sustained depiction of the Protestant gentleman occurs in the Prejudiced Man sections of Lecture VI. Newman invents this title himself to ‘personify that ungenerous spirit which energizes and operates so widely and so unweariedly in the Protestant community’. Newman’s technique is again the depiction of his characteristic ‘voice’ through indirect speech. There is also the same process, though drawn out longer, of the man gradually becoming more and more extreme as he reacts to Catholicism. First, he hears an allegation against Catholics:

he knew all about it beforehand; it is just what he has always said; it is the old tale over again a hundred times.<sup>17</sup>

Then the allegation is refuted by Catholics on unimpeachable authority. First the Prejudiced Man simply ignores this, or if he cannot,

he draws himself up, looks sternly at the objector, and then says the very same thing as before, only with a louder voice and more confident manner. He becomes

---

<sup>16</sup>*L.G.*, pp.346-347.

<sup>17</sup> *Prepos.*, p.237.



more intensely and enthusiastically positive by way of making up for the interruption, of braving the confutation, and of showing the world that nothing whatever in the universe will ever make him think one hair-breadth more favourably of Popery than he does think, than he has ever thought, and than his family ever thought before him, since the time of the fine old English gentleman.<sup>18</sup>

The scene has become dramatised, with Newman moving in and out of the man's own words. Thus 'one hairbreadth' and 'his family . . . before him' are the man speaking, while the last phrase is Newman placing him in the long English tradition of Protestant prejudice. When next he is asked if he has ever met any Catholics,

he blesses himself that he knows nothing of them at all, and he never will; nay, if they fall in his way, he will take himself out of it; and if unawares he shall ever be pleased with a Catholic without knowing who it is, he wishes by anticipation to retract such feeling of pleasure.<sup>19</sup>

This shows Newman's characteristic technique, the man's protestations becoming more complex, less likely - one might even say, by the last one, more paranoid. And again, 'blesses himself' and 'nay' have the colloquial ring, while 'by anticipation to retract such feeling of pleasure' is Newman's deliberately wordy re-statement, which makes the man's angry bigotry seem ludicrous by dressing it up in portentous language.

And when finally the anti-Catholic allegation has actually been acknowledged by everyone as having no evidence for it at all,

this only makes him the more violent. For it *ought*, he thinks, to be true, and it is mere special pleading to lay much stress on its not having all the evidence which it might have; for if it be not true, yet half a hundred like stories are.<sup>20</sup>

What is effective here is the psychological accuracy of the depiction: the man, absurdly,

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p.238.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p.239.

thinks that an untruth 'ought' to be true. He won't admit that there is no evidence for its being true but only of its 'not having all the evidence it might have'. This is the way people re-interpret unpalatable facts to accord with their prejudices.

We get a further fully realised presentation of the Prejudiced Man 'in a specially candid humour' when some one explains, at length and in detail, some major misconception he has about Catholicism:

He is silent for a moment, then he begins with a sentiment. "What clever fellows these Catholics are!" he says, "I defy you to catch them tripping; they have a way out of every thing. I thought we had you, but I own I am fairly beaten. This is how the Jesuits got on; always educated, subtle, well up in their books; a Protestant has no chance with them."<sup>21</sup>

The man's initial silent pause is a deliberate piece of comic timing by Newman. We wonder how the man is going to react, so that it is all the more amusing when we realise that no impression has been made on his prejudice at all. Comedy also comes from the way that he sounds so pleased with himself on his change of tactics. This is impenetrable smugness raised to an art form. Newman turns the knife by saying that this 'is the Prejudiced Man at best advantage' and goes on to give his more 'grave and suspicious' response:

"I confess," he will say "I do *not* like these very complete explanations; they are too like a made-up case. . . . I always suspect something behind, when everything is so very easy and clear."<sup>22</sup>

The tone reinforces the impression of the personality. The stress on "*not*" and the use of "I always . . ." give the air of someone who is pleased with his acuteness.

This presentation of the Prejudiced Man culminates in the longest section so far in which we are taken through his changing reactions to news of converts to Catholicism.

---

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p.241.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p.242.



Newman numbers each stage which gives the impression that this is a standard procedure, and the brisk way he runs through them gives us the picture of the speaker falling back each time on a fresh justification of his own position, like a forced withdrawal. Much of the humour comes from the very definite way the Prejudiced Man announces his explanation at each stage; once again, indirect speech is used. The tone of each comment varies. Sometimes it is snobbishly dismissive:

They are lack-a-daisical women, or conceited young parsons, or silly squires, or the very dregs of our large towns, who have nothing to lose, and no means of knowing one thing from another.

Sometimes it is peremptory:

if they had clerical charges in the Protestant Church, they ought to have flung them up at once, even at the risk of afterwards finding they had made a commotion for nothing.

Or contradictory of the previous argument:

on the other hand, what, forsooth, must these men do when a doubt came on their minds, but at once abandon all their clerical duty and go home.

Or blustering:

as for him, it does not affect him at all; he means to die just where he is; indeed, these conversions are a positive argument in favour of Protestantism: he thinks still worse of Popery in consequence of these men going over, than he did before.

And lastly, sanctimonious:

the Prejudiced Man spreads the news about [*of a convert's reported loss of faith*] right and left in a tone of great concern and distress; he considers it very awful.<sup>23</sup>

Newman runs through these differing tones in what becomes a kind of dramatic monologue, albeit one interrupted by his own authorial comments. To read these sections aloud requires frequent change of expression, the voice in quick succession hectoring,

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. pp.234-5.



scoffing, lugubrious. Newman's public delivery of such passages must have required considerable skill (for a contemporary account of the lectures by an eye-witness, see Section IV (a)).

There are earlier versions of some of this in *Loss and Gain*. Here is how Sheffield reacts to Charles Reding telling him that their friend Willis has become a Catholic:

"Poor Willis!" [Charles] added; "one must respect a man who acts according to his conscience."

"What can he know of conscience?" said Sheffield; "the idea of his swallowing, of his own free will, the heap of rubbish which every Catholic has to believe! in cold blood tying a collar round his neck, and politely putting the chain into the hands of a priest! . . . And then the Confessional! 'Tis marvellous!" and he began to break the coals with the poker. "It's very well," he continued, "if a man is born a Catholic; I don't suppose they really believe what they are obliged to profess; but how an Englishman, a gentleman, a man here at Oxford, with all his advantages, can so eat dirt, scraping and picking up all the dead lies of the dark ages - it's a miracle!"<sup>24</sup>

This has all the characteristics of the Prejudiced Man: the dismissal of "conscience"; the recourse to standard Protestant rhetoric, ". . . collar round his neck . . . chain into the hands of a priest"; and the snobbery, "an Englishman, a gentleman, a man here at Oxford". Later in the novel, the pompous clergyman Mr. Vincent claims that Willis after his conversion was disgusted by what he saw of Catholicism on the Continent:

"Well, Willis saw all this; and I have it on good authority," he said mysteriously, "that he is thoroughly disgusted with the whole affair, and is coming back to us."

"Is he in England now?" asked Reding.

"He is said to be with his mother in Devonshire, who, perhaps you know, is a widow; and he has been too much for her. Poor silly fellow, who would not take

---

<sup>24</sup> *L.G.*, pp.117-8.

the advice of older heads! A friend of mine once sent him to me; I could make nothing of him. I couldn't understand his arguments, nor he mine. It was no good; he would make trial himself, and he has caught it."<sup>25</sup>

The rumour of Willis's return to Anglicanism turns out to be completely untrue. Vincent's confident assertion of it and his dismissive attitude towards the 'poor, silly fellow' make him another early version of the Prejudiced Man. The connection can be further seen in the account Vincent has just given of 'abroad':

"... there you see the Church of Rome as it really is. I have been abroad, and should know it. Such heaps of beggars in the streets of Rome and Naples; so much squalidness and misery; no cleanliness; an utter want of comfort; and such superstition; and such an absence of all true and evangelical seriousness. They push and fight while Mass is going on; they jabber their prayers at railroad speed; they worship the Virgin as a goddess; and they see miracles at the corner of every street. Their images are awful, and their ignorance prodigious."<sup>26</sup>

In the *Present Position* Newman depicts the Prejudiced Man as a youth travelling in Catholic countries, ascribing anything he disapproves of to the malign influence of Catholicism and completely misunderstanding what he sees in churches and ceremonies because of his Protestant preconceptions. It could be *Loss and Gain*'s Mr. Vincent in his youth. The young tourist

gets up at an English hour, has his breakfast at his leisure, and then saunters into some of the churches of the place. . . . He walks about and looks at the monuments, what is this? the figure of a woman: who can it be? his Protestant cicerone at his elbow . . . whispers that it is Pope Joan, and he notes it down in his pocket-book accordingly.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p.176.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> *Prepos.*, p.250.



Here Newman is playing something of a trick: we have been assuming that this is another of his fictional characters, but the account turns out to be a real life one about someone Newman knew: a 'most excellent person, for whom I had and have a great esteem' who 'was positive he had seen Pope Joan in Rome'. Since in this case satirical fiction has turned out to be true, we wonder whether all the earlier satirical incidents might not also have their counterpart in reality.

Similarly, a few pages later on Newman gives a sketch of the Prejudiced Man who enters a Catholic chapel and looks with 'wonder, expectation, and disgust' at everything he sees. This too is going to turn out to be a real incident which he proceeds to quote at length, thus demonstrating that 'the plain truth is the keenest of satires', a most important point for Newman, as we have seen. This real-life figure was the 'Protestant Scripture Reader' who had observed the service of Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament at the Oratory Fathers' chapel in London and then published an account of his visit in the journal of the British Reformation Society in February 1850. It is the perfect illustration of the Protestant who is sure that

He knows, and has known from a child, that Popery is a system of imposture, nay, such brazen imposture, that it is a marvel, or rather a miracle, that anyone can be caught by it.

Newman takes us through the man's account in some detail, and the full extent of his misunderstandings is gradually unfolded. The humour comes from the way that the man is trying to describe something that he does not understand and as a result makes a fool of himself. As he watches the blessing being given with the monstrance which contains the Blessed Sacrament (the whole of which he thinks is a 'star' which the congregation are worshipping), he hears a bell rung (in fact rung by an altar server whom he doesn't notice) and immediately concludes that the whole thing is a fake miracle, worked by the priest to trick the congregation:

"As Gordon [*the priest*] raised the Star, with his back turned to all the lighted



candles on the altar, he clearly showed the Popish deceit; for in the candlestick [*actually the monstrance*] there is a bell, that rung three times of its own accord, to deceive the blind fools more; and the light through the shawl [*part of the priest's vestments*] showed so many colours, as Father Gordon moved his body; the bell ringing they could not see, for the candlestick was covered with part of this magic shawl, and Gordon's finger at work underneath."

The language is standard anti-Catholic rhetoric: 'Popish deceit', 'the blind fools', 'magic'. He ends up proclaiming confidently:

"I should be glad to see this published, that I might take it to Father Gordon, to see if he could contradict a word of it."<sup>28</sup>

The irony of this could not have been bettered by anything Newman could have invented for his fictional versions of the Prejudiced Man. We can see why Newman positioned this where he did. After the picture of the Prejudiced Man which has been built up in the preceding pages, this real-life example comes as the comic highlight of the Lecture. We may note that the extensive quotations from the Scripture Reader's own words gave Newman a chance for us to hear this 'voice' in all its absurdity. Reading them out must almost have been like doing a comic turn at a Victorian party.

#### *(e) Prejudice and First Principles*

After presenting the Prejudiced Man in his most extreme form, it is significant that Newman's next version of the Protestant gentleman, in Lecture VII, is a more moderate, almost sympathetic, version. We now meet someone who tries not to be prejudiced, who wishes to think well of all men, including Catholics, and who decides to look dispassionately at Catholic books. This is a classic case of Newman's indirect speaking to his real audience, for the sympathetic Protestant here is typical of one of his former Oxford Movement associates such as J.R. Bloxham, Manuel Johnson or perhaps even Pusey.

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp.253-5.

Indeed, in his *Eirenicon* (1865) Pusey was later to do something like this gentleman now does: examining Catholic books of devotion in an attempt to find common ground but then criticising them for what he saw as their excesses. The sympathetic Protestant is offended by what he reads; and even after a second attempt, says Newman, such people sadly conclude:

No: it is impossible; it is melancholy to say it, but it is no use disguising the truth from themselves; they cannot get over this or that doctrine or practice. . . . They are disappointed, but they never can believe, they never even can approve.<sup>29</sup>

Newman does not follow this passage with an immediate explanation of why such Protestants are so disgusted by Catholic ideas, and we might wonder what Newman is up to here. It indeed marks a subtle strategic shift in the lectures.

Hitherto Newman has been trying to embarrass such an intelligent Protestant by showing him the ignorance and bigotry which lies behind the 'No Popery' mindset. Hence his lengthy treatment of the Maria Monk story.<sup>30</sup> He is deliberately shocking his more intelligent Protestant readership by showing them what depths anti-Catholic prejudice leads to. But of course the 'dispassionate thinker' will be sure that *he* has no such prejudices, and indeed he genuinely wanted to be fair to Catholicism; and now Newman appears to be sympathetic to this disappointed enquirer. The satire is suspended, but this is only to allow Newman to introduce a far more comprehensive account of the origins of Protestant prejudice and to make a more direct challenge to such disappointed enquirers to re-think their experiences.

Newman starts with a lengthy account of how all our judgements are based on our antecedent reasoning which produces our 'First Principles'. As we have seen, this subject fascinated Newman all his life, finally being fully explored in his *Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* (1870). He saw it as a key to understanding what brings people to

---

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p.272.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp.161-174.



belief or keeps them from it. In his discussion here he is simultaneously instructing his Catholic audience about the psychology of Protestantism for them to use in their own apologetics and explaining to such of his indirect Protestant audience as are willing to listen exactly why they find Catholicism so distasteful. What he demonstrates is that ‘so candid a man’ is making the mistake of using his own first principles to judge Catholicism:

He is a theorist, using his theory against our practice, as if our practice might not have its own theory also.

And so even the man who thinks he is being dispassionate in fact ‘runs into bigotry’:

Not even the intellectual, not even the candid-minded among them [Protestants], are free from inconsistency here. They begin by setting up principles of thought and action for themselves; then, not content with applying them to their own thoughts and actions, they make them the rule for criticizing and condemning our thoughts and actions too: this, I repeat, is Bigotry, Bigotry is the infliction of our own unproved First Principles on others, and the treating others with scorn or hatred for not accepting them.<sup>31</sup>

A few pages later he is thus able to quote examples of Protestant criticism of Catholic practices and show that they depend on first principles which Catholics do not accept:

It is not enough to look into our churches, and cry “It is all a form, *because* divine favour cannot depend on external observances;” or, “It is all a bondage, *because* there is no such thing as sin;” or “a blasphemy, *because* the Supreme Being cannot be present in ceremonies;” . . . I say here is endless assumption, unmitigated hypothesis, reckless assertion: prove your, “because,” “because,” “because:” prove your First Principles, and if you cannot, learn philosophic moderation.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp.291-2.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p.294.



(f) *The insular Englishman*

Newman is aware this has been rather a 'dry' subject matter and so he now translates this 'dispassionate thinker' who has turned out to be a bigot into a secular equivalent - and the satire comes back with a vengeance:

What is all this but the very state of mind which we ridicule, and call narrowness, in the case of those who have never travelled? We call them, and rightly, men of contracted ideas, who cannot fancy things going on differently from what they have themselves witnessed at home, and laugh at everything because it is strange. They themselves are the pattern-men; their height, their dress, their manners, their food, their language, are all founded in the nature of things; and every thing else is good or bad, just in that very degree in which it partakes, or does not partake, of them. All men ought to get up at half-past eight, breakfast between nine and ten, read the newspapers, lunch, take a ride or drive, dine. Here is the great principle of the day - dine; no one is a man who does not dine; yes, dine, and at the right hour; and it must *be* a dinner, with a certain time after dinner, and then in due time to bed. Tea and toast, port wine, roast beef; mince-pies at Christmas, lamb at Easter, goose at Michaelmas, these are their great principles. They suspect any one who does otherwise. Figs and macaroni for the day's fare, or Burgundy and grapes for breakfast! - they are aghast at the atrocity of the notion.<sup>33</sup>

Thomas Vargish comments on this passage that

Newman understood that an established national church must become involved in customs and practices which have nothing directly to do with religion, and that it tends to become corrupted by the pervasive hedonism of its society. As a national institution the church partakes of that insularity characteristic of Englishmen who, like Podsnap in *Our Mutual Friend* [Dickens, 1865], treat English customs as

---

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp.296-6.

divinely appointed.<sup>34</sup>

Ian Ker follows Vargish in seeing Newman here as identifying the English Protestant religious narrowness as only one aspect of an aggressive, insular culture.<sup>35</sup> The passage is indeed a remarkable anticipation of Dickens's satirical portrait of the insular Mr.Podsnap:

Mr.Podsnap's world was not a very large world, morally; no, nor even geographically: . . . he considered other countries . . . a mistake, and of their manners and customs would conclusively observe, 'Not English!' when, PRESTO! with a flourish of the arm, and a flush of the face, they were swept away. Elsewise, the world got up at eight, shaved close at a quarter past, breakfasted at nine, went to the City at ten, came home at half-past five, and dined at seven.<sup>36</sup>

There are further parallels with Podsnap. Newman follows the 'pattern-men' passage with the comment:

Here was a man of one idea; there are many men of one idea in the world; . . . Such again are those benevolent persons who, with right intentions, but yet, I think, narrow views, wish to introduce the British constitution and British ideas into every nation and tribe upon earth; differing how much! from the wise man in the Greek epic, whose characteristic was that he was "versatile," for he had known "the cities and the *mind* of many men."<sup>37</sup>

And here is Podsnap in conversation with a Frenchman:

'It merely referred,' Mr.Podsnap explained, with a sense of meritorious proprietorship, 'to Our Constitution, Sir. We Englishmen are Very Proud of our Constitution, Sir. It Was Bestowed Upon Us By Providence. No Other Country is

---

<sup>34</sup> Vargish, op.cit., p.92.

<sup>35</sup> Ker, I., *John Henry Newman* (London, 1988), p.371; *The Achievement of John Henry Newman*, (London, 1990), p.177.

<sup>36</sup> Dickens, C., *Our Mutual Friend*, (World's Classics edn., 1989), p.128.

<sup>37</sup> *Prepos.*, pp.296-7.



so Favoured as This Country.' . . .

'And *other* countries,' said the foreign gentlemen, 'They do how?'

'They do, Sir,' returned Mr.Podsnap, gravely shaking his head; 'they do - I am sorry to be obliged to say it - *as* they do.'<sup>38</sup>

Podsnap's style is immediately recognisable to those who know the various Protestant gentlemen of the *Present Position*.

Where Dickens works by his characteristic repetition (which he pushes to extreme - there are three repetitions of the 'eight . . . nine . . . ten. . .' list), Newman uses more subtle sentence rhythms. The sentence beginning 'All men ought to get up. . .' is a series of rising phrases, ending '. . . eight . . . ten . . . newspapers . . . lunch . . . drive' and then coming down for the strongly emphasised 'dine'. Then this emphasis is picked up and rhythmically repeated (I italicise to demonstrate):

Here is the great principle of the day - *dine*; yes, *dine*, and at the *right hour*; and it must *be* [*Newman's italics*] a dinner, with a certain time *after* dinner, and then in due time *bed*.

The next sentence is also carefully structured. There is first a series of three short phrases, then three longer ones, and finally the longest phrase as the punchline:

/        /  
Tea and toast,

/        /  
port wine,

/        /  
roast beef;

/        (/)        /  
mince-pies at Christmas,

/        /  
lamb at Easter,

/        /  
goose at Michaelmas,

---

<sup>38</sup> Dickens, op.cit., p.133.



/                    /       /  
these are their great principles.

The staccato rhythm lightly punches out the humour. These are homely foods, all with associations of the family dinner table and good cheer; but their being so rigorously tied to the seasons of the year suggests a dogged clinging to harmless but arbitrary traditions. The absurdity of their being 'great principles' is superbly brought home by the slight rhythmical delay before the last two words. A sentence later, there is not only a patterning of stresses but also a subtle use of alliteration:

/                    /                    /  
Figs and macaroni for the day's fare,  
  
/                    /                    /  
or Burgundy and grapes for breakfast!  
  
/                    /                    /  
- they are aghast at the atrocity of the notion.

Newman's choice of vocabulary here shows his acute awareness of the words' connotations. *Figs* are not only quintessentially foreign to Englishmen, they are also rather trivial food (one doesn't 'care a fig' for something) and are thus clearly quite inadequate *fare* for a hard day's work. And drinking alcohol at *breakfast* is shocking enough to English middle-class respectability, but to drink *Burgundy* at such a time - such a respectable dinner-table drink - is virtually *lèse-majesté*.<sup>39</sup> Both the alliteration and the stresses link the words in order to make ironic contrasts between them - or rather between the associations that the words have for the speaker who is himself the subject of Newman's irony. 'Aghast' and 'atrocity' are of course far too serious words for the context. They should express shock and horror: the long second syllable of 'aghast' suggests sharply expelled breath, and the strongly fricative second syllable in 'atrocity' expresses the vehemence of outrage. These are expressions which should be reserved for strong moral condemnation, yet here the outrageous notion being condemned is merely the foreigner's breakfast. Newman thus subtly implies that these trivial matters of diet have

---

<sup>39</sup> Newman is also laughing at his own experience here. See below Editor's Note on p. 296. 10-11.

become the Englishman's substitute for morality.

The passage is concluded with the 'good country gentleman' who was warned that he would have to expect 'privations and mortifications' on his Continental tour. (Note here the use of 'mortifications', a word of religious meaning for Catholics signifying sufferings voluntarily undertaken as penance for sin. Newman is again suggesting that real penitential suffering has, for the modern English Protestant, been replaced by dietary discomfort - as if his food has become his religion.) The gentleman replies that:

he had made up his mind to it, and thought himself prepared for anything abroad, provided he could but bargain for a clean table-cloth, and a good beef-steak every day.<sup>40</sup>

This is not only showing the insularity of the Englishman who thinks he is being a hardened traveller while in fact insisting on his English food. It is also making fun of the English ritual of eating, in which the spreading of the clean tablecloth has a moral significance and the beef-steak is 'good' in a more than culinary sense. It is famously British fare; in the First Edition it had been 'rump-steak' which sounds even more thumpingly solid and reliable.

As I have already indicated above, Newman had previously satirised a real-life example of such a person in one of his *British Critic* reviews where this passage about the beef-steak appears in an earlier form.<sup>41</sup> It was a feature of the English character which particularly amused him, perhaps because its absurdity cuts the pompous Englishman down to size. Part of the purpose of these lectures was to put heart into his Catholic audience in the face of Protestant hostility. Irrespective of the exact argument Newman is pursuing here, these satirical passages make the powerful Protestantism of his day seem ridiculous rather than threatening. The satire is also designed to appeal to the same readership who would laugh with Dickens, Thackeray and George Eliot at English

---

<sup>40</sup> *Prepos.*, p.296.

<sup>41</sup> See below, Editor's Note on p. 296. 13-23.



pomposity and snobbishness.

*(g) Prejudice disarmed*

As the Protestant English gentleman makes his final appearances in these lectures, he is becoming a spent force. In Lecture IX Newman goes over some of his arguments of the previous lectures, for instance that Protestant criticisms of Catholic doctrines are based on different principles from those of Catholicism which make Protestants incapable of understanding the Catholic position. He lists propositions that they have been

taught to get by heart, without any sort of proof, as a kind of alphabet or spelling lesson [such as] “miracles have ceased long ago;” “all truth is in the Bible;” “any one can understand the Bible;” “all penance is absurd;”<sup>42</sup>

This makes them sound like children, reciting by rote statements which they assume to be unquestionable truths. As he reminds us, Newman dealt with this question of how the Protestant ‘takes the whole question for granted’ in his seventh lecture; he has thus, as it were, inoculated us against them, so that these objecting Protestant voices now seem irrelevant, even tiresome.

He is now ready to replace them with a final Protestant voice, one which shows the beginnings of a change in attitude towards Catholics. For after going over his previous arguments, Newman turns in this last lecture to the strategy that he recommends Catholics to adopt in the face of Protestant hostility. It is to cultivate local sympathy as an antidote to the anti-Catholic propaganda that issues at national level from the press and other influential metropolitan organs. Every Birmingham Catholic should try to ‘approve himself in his own neighbourhood’ so that his Protestant neighbours will gain a good opinion of him, and say to themselves:

“Catholics are, doubtless, an infamous set, and not to be trusted, for the *Times* says so, and Exeter Hall, and the Prime Minister, and the Bishops of the Establishment;

---

<sup>42</sup> *Prepos.*, p.369.



and such good authorities cannot be wrong, but somehow an exception must certainly be made for the Catholics of Birmingham. They are not like the rest; they are indeed a shocking set at Manchester, Preston, Blackburn, and Liverpool; but, however you account for it, they are respectable men here. Priests in general are perfect monsters; but here they are certainly unblemished in their lives and take great pains with their people. Bishops are tyrants, and, as Maria Monk says, cut-throats, always excepting the Bishop of Birmingham, who affects no state or pomp, is simple and unassuming, and always in his work.” And in like manner, the Manchester people will say, “O, certainly, Popery is horrible, and must be kept down. Still, let us give the devil his due, they are a remarkably excellent body of men here, and we will take care no one does them any harm. It is very different at Birmingham; there they have a Bishop, and that makes all the difference; he is a Wolsey all over; and the priests, too, in Birmingham are at least one in twelve infidels. We do not recollect who ascertained this, but it was some most respectable man, who was far too conscientious and too charitable to slander any one.”<sup>43</sup>

This passage works on several fronts at once. First, the voice here is not that of the crusty old gentleman but of ‘the people’ of the two cities. These are the new force in the nineteenth century whom Catholics are to wean from their traditional Protestant prejudices. And they are given an attractive good nature: they pay full tribute both to Catholic people and priests and want to protect them from harm, that is from the ‘brickbats, bludgeons, and lighted brands’ of the anti-Catholic mobs which Newman has mentioned a few lines earlier (and which had been much in evidence during the ‘No Popery’ agitations of that year). And they have a pleasant local loyalty. But they are also revealed as naïve, still taken in by the myths of Maria Monk; they still assume that ‘some respectable man’ must have proof of the anti-Catholic accusations they have heard, and that such a man is conscientious and

---

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp.387-8.

charitable. After all that we have heard in these lectures, we know the reality of an anti-Catholic agitator like Achilli and the origins of the Maria Monk fictions. So the Protestant people of Birmingham and Manchester (and by extension of all the cities) now seem pitifully ignorant, with their basic good nature being frustrated by the malign influence of anti-Catholic propaganda. As more knowledgeable readers we feel sorry for them and laugh at them at the same time. Yet crucially, from the Catholic viewpoint they are already being rendered harmless. The aggressively confident Protestant voices of the earlier lectures have been reduced to this; and although Newman ends with a warning to his Catholic audience that they may yet have to face martyr-like trials, we are left in little doubt that the villain of the piece is on his way out.

*(h) The Achilli 'confession'*

There was, of course, a real-life individual villain who featured prominently in the lectures: Achilli. And it is interesting that when Newman came to his accusations against Achilli, he put them in the form of an ironically boasting 'confession'. It is worth reading the whole passage (including the 'libellous' section in the Textual Appendix) not just to see what Achilli had actually done but to get its full rhetorical force. It works by accumulation: the offences get worse and worse, with the final circumlocutory 'offences which the authorities cannot get themselves to describe' being, of course, the most effective of all, as the listener's imagination runs riot. As it goes on, the 'Achilli' voice becomes relentless as it lists what he has done. Any one of the offences would be enough to discredit him, but the sheer number, and their increasing unpleasantness, becomes overwhelming. Achilli becomes a monster, bragging of his debaucheries. This is a voice which, in its confession of moral enormities, is of course unlike any of the other anti-Catholic voices in the lectures. But it is also unmistakably in the anti-Catholic tradition, with its Exeter Hall rhetoric: 'Mothers of England', 'a confessor against Popery', 'the barbarity and profligacy of the Inquisitors of Rome'. And Newman's audience knew that



Achilli was being fêted by the Protestant world as an anti-Catholic hero, a victim of the Inquisition, whose stories of horror exactly fulfilled the traditional Protestant view of Roman persecution and cruelty. So the Achilli voice which Newman has created is sufficiently like, and at the same time radically different from, his other Protestant voices to have a powerfully disturbing effect. It is, in effect, a sort of nightmare Protestant voice, speaking the right language yet admitting to the wrongest possible actions. No wonder Achilli was stung to sue - or rather that his Protestant backers pressured him to do so. For if Newman's accusations were not refuted, it was not just Achilli who would fall; the whole tradition of anti-Catholic accusations and rhetoric would be besmirched. As Newman says:

For how, Brothers of the Oratory, can we possibly believe a man like this, in what he says about persons, and facts, and conversations, and events, when he is of the stamp of Maria Monk, of Jeffreys, and of Teodore [*see the Editor's Notes*], and of others who have had their hour, and then been dropped by the indignation or the shame of mankind?<sup>44</sup>

And this was in fact what happened. For despite Newman's defeat in the subsequent trial, the end result was the embarrassed dropping of Achilli by his erstwhile backers. The Achilli 'voice' is, then, part of Newman's satiric strategy. But whereas the other Protestant voices in the lectures all provoke humour to a greater or lesser degree, this one is deadly serious.

In these lectures, Newman is in effect presenting the position of Catholics in England in a kind of drama. A succession of Protestant opponents confronts Catholicism and is exposed as ignorant, prejudiced and even malicious. As a cast of villains they are (apart from Achilli) more fools than knaves, and so the whole work is good humoured, though the humour is all at their expense. Newman has made his point with devastating

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p.208.



effectiveness, and in doing so he surely earns his place in the English satirical tradition.

## V. RECEPTION AND CRITICISM

### *(a) Contemporary reactions*

The audience in the Corn Exchange enjoyed the lectures enormously. Maria Giberne heard the shouts of laughter as she paced up and down outside, ladies not being admitted. (When she came to paint her picture of Newman delivering the lectures<sup>1</sup> she included a laughing female figure – working class, rather than a ‘lady’ - among the audience behind the platform.) The Birmingham Catholic community showed their appreciation at a public meeting held in the Corn Exchange on Friday 5th September, four days after the last lecture, presided over by Bishop Ullathorne. As Newman entered the meeting he was received with loud applause. Ullathorne gave a lengthy address, praising Newman ‘whom but to name is to awaken the love and respect of every good Catholic.’ Interestingly, he went on to mention that

it is said he [Newman] was solicited to deliver them [the lectures] elsewhere, but that he preferred to address the Brothers of the Oratory in the presence of the inhabitants of Birmingham.’<sup>2</sup>

There is no trace of this in Newman’s correspondence, but one can imagine that some Catholics would have wanted him to be in the limelight of London, entirely mis-reading the man and his concept of *local* influence which was to underlie Lecture IX. Ullathorne went on to compare present day English Catholics with the early Church and Newman with Tertullian:

How like, and yet how very unlike, are the lectures we have heard to the celebrated apology for the early Christians. In their matter and their method they will bear but little comparison, for the lectures are as original as the apology; but how like they are in spirit and in purpose. And how our Very Rev. defender resembles the

---

<sup>1</sup> Now in the Birmingham Oratory.

<sup>2</sup> *O.A.*, unattributed press cutting in Newman’s scrapbook.

defender of the ancient Christians in his sweeping surveys of the field of contention, and in the close attention he gives to facts; in the elevation of his principles and in the boldness of his remarks.

But he saw the lectures' humour as their distinctive quality:

The cheerful light of his [Newman's] soul has been so heartily diffused over the gravity of his subject - he has illuminated it with so kind and so free a humour, and in the midst of the most awful subjects he has dealt with us so familiarly, that we felt we were listening to one who had imbibed the spirit of St. Philip Neri.

For all that this speech is largely rhetoric for a public meeting designed to affirm his embattled flock, Ullathorne is surely quite perceptive here about the distinctive tone of *Present Position*. Although Newman had certainly before displayed his sense of humour, as I have indicated above in Section III, Catholicism had now given full rein to it. St. Philip Neri was of course well-known for his sense of humour, and the element of light-heartedness in the Philippine ethos was one of the things that had drawn Newman to the Congregation of the Oratory.

The meeting proceeded with a Vote of Thanks 'carried amid enthusiastic applause', and when Newman stood up to reply he 'was received with immense acclamations.' His short speech, which was interrupted by cheering, has an almost naive quality and shows Newman apparently surprised by his sudden popularity. *The Times* reported him as saying that 'though he was now of mature age, and had been very busy in many ways, yet this was the first time in his life that he had ever received any praise.'<sup>3</sup> Ironically, it was to be many years before he again enjoyed such public recognition on this scale.

When *The Times* reported this meeting,<sup>4</sup> it poured scorn on Catholic 'learned theologians and acute controversialists' such as Newman who

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> O.A., 'Dr. Newman on Romanism or Atheism (From the *Times*)', press cutting (from *Aris's Gazette*) in Newman's scrapbook.



instead of being modestly content, as heretofore, with the measured approbation of their ecclesiastical superiors, now look for their reward from a public vote of thanks, and find a signal instance of the love of God towards them in a round of popular applause.

Its judgement on the lectures was focused wholly on the argument on miracles and belief in Lecture VII:

The tendency of the book is not so much to fortify the argument in favour of the infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church as to weaken the proof of the existence of a God, and of a moral law of right and wrong

It linked this to Newman's *Discourses addressed to Mixed Congregations* to which *The Times* had given an extremely hostile review a week earlier.

This topic dominated *The Times'* full-length review which appeared on 7th November: four of the review's five columns are given over to it, and readers who had not heard or read the lectures themselves would have concluded that this was their principal subject. The reviewer picks on Newman's point that since Protestants have dismissed miracles on principle (that they are impossible) they attribute them 'to enormous stupidity on the one hand, and enormous roguery on the other.' The reviewer then propounds at length his own view of how miracle stories arise (such as through metaphorical language being taken literally), from which he concludes that 'They are the fancies of the dreamer, the ignorance of the untaught, the darkness of the night.' He then attacks Newman's argument about probability which he recognises as having been taken from Bishop Butler's *Analogy of Religion*, and dismisses it as a piece of 'verbal juggling.' He dismisses the parallels Newman makes between stories of miracles and stories about Queen Victoria: 'We firmly believe that the Queen, as a lover of the truth, would desire that nothing should be believed of her by her subjects but that which was strictly true' (which perhaps shows a faith in the sincerity of monarchy equal to faith in saints). The liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius is explained, and the review concludes by rejecting Newman's argument that

those who reject lesser miracles have no grounds for accepting the greater miracle of the Incarnation.

The first column only of the review addressed other aspects of the book. 'We might, if our limits permitted, be tempted to take issue with Dr. Newman upon many historical questions, and to show that he deals with profane history, in the interests of his Church, as he dealt with sacred history'. (This is another reference to Newman's sermons on the Virgin Mary in *Discourses addressed to Mixed Congregations*; *The Times*' reviewer had objected to Newman's references to traditions about Mary, such as her vow of virginity, which are not to be found in the biblical narrative.) The questions the reviewer 'might' now raise about *Present Position* include: whether Protestantism withers without state support, the role of the revival of Greek in the Reformation, the support given to Protestantism by Elizabethan literature, Cardinal Pole's opposition to the persecution of Protestants (the reviewer claims that Pole 'was a holder of the Lutheran doctrine of justification'), and the reasons for the differing severity of the Spanish and Roman inquisitions. Only in one paragraph does the reviewer discuss the lectures' 'general argument':

The "Protestant Tradition" against the papacy rests, not on the modern and trifling instances which Dr. Newman has enumerated, nor even on those modern but not trifling instances, which he has omitted to enumerate, such as . . . the revolt at Rome, and religious state of France. It rests on the great fact of the Reformation, and he who would destroy it must show how it came to pass that when the true church had attained to the fulness of development and power, the heart and mind of man so rose against her sway that a third part of Europe protested against her, and the protest of another third was stifled in their blood. And the "Protestant view" is not that Jesuits are intriguing, or that celibacy is dangerous, or that indulgences are immoral, or that legends are false, or that monasteries are prisons, but that Romanism is not in the Bible. If Dr. Newman will ask the first Protestant he meets



why Rome is not the true church, . . . he will be told that Rome teaches not the word of God, but the commandments of men.

The first does indeed raise the whole question of Protestant versus Catholic historiography. The writer is assuming what has come to be called the Whig interpretation of history and is evidently unaware that there could be alternative interpretations. The reviewer's second point illustrates exactly the point which Newman makes in Lecture VIII when recounting the Protestant gentlemen who would only debate with Newman on the basis that Scripture was to be the sole basis of discussion.

*The Times'* review, which must have provided the only knowledge of *Present Position* which a great many English men and women received, is thus remarkable for the way it ignores or fails to grasp Newman's central thesis. It was perhaps too much to expect that the reviewer should show any appreciation of the lectures' literary qualities, but its obsession with the miracles question results in a completely distorted impression of the book.

Other reactions fell, predictably, into the Catholic and Protestant camps. Newman's exposé of Maria Monk provoked Anglican clergymen to write to the papers in defence of that book, demonstrating that, *pace* Chadwick, such 'instructed persons' did believe in it. The Birmingham paper, *Aris's Gazette*, had lengthy correspondences on that and on Newman's analysis of Blanco White's book and the question of what proportion of priests White had claimed were secretly unbelievers like himself. Newman's fellow Oratorian Fr. John Gordon took up the correspondence on Newman's behalf.<sup>5</sup> The element which continued to attract the greatest hostility, however, was Newman's profession of his belief in miracles. This was one of the lectures' many outrages against reason, science and

---

<sup>5</sup> See *O.A.*, newspaper cuttings, all headed 'To the Editor of *Aris's Gazette*', of correspondence on the subject of Maria Monk between Josiah Allport and Fr. John Gordon of the Birmingham Oratory, in Newman's scrapbook.



common sense, according to the Bishop of Norwich, Dr.Hinds.<sup>6</sup> The subsequent lengthy and courteous (and rather dull) correspondence between him and Newman was appended to the lectures as a Note from the Fourth Editions onwards (see *Present Position* pp.408-416). Most of the Protestant reviewers were not so courteous, one paper reprinting the passage about miracles in the lives of saints (pp.312-3) under the headline 'Melancholy Case of Mental Aberration'.<sup>7</sup> *Punch* satirised the lectures in an imaginary court case in which a certain John Henry Newboy was being sued by a Mrs.Church. Mr.Newboy first claims, by means of convoluted logic, that his name is now 'Giovanni Enrico Nuovo Fanciullo' – a joke on Newman's alleged casuistry. The *Present Position* lectures are then referred to:

...whilst she [Mrs.Church] was speaking, the complainant, NEWBOY, was observed to laugh repeatedly and put his tongue in his mouth, and handed round to his friends (a set of smug-looking people in black, with heads which looked as if they were afflicted with the ring-worm) a caricature of old MRS.CHURCH, at which they all laughed. The old lady's nose was trebled in this design, her corpulence was enormously exaggerated, and her look (which has of late been a good deal puzzled and bewildered) caricatured in the most ludicrous manner.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps the most substantial of the Protestant responses to the lectures came from Archdeacon Julius Hare (1795-1855) in *The Contest with Rome* (1852). He recognised their literary merit:

In vigour of style these Lectures are perhaps even superior to any of the author's previous writings. His humour, which on other occasions he has manifestly reined in, has been allowed a free course. In ingenious combinations they are rich . . . But

---

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., unsourced newspaper cutting, a review of *Present Position*., in Newman's scrapbook.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., unsourced newspaper cutting headed 'Melancholy Case of Mental Aberration' in Newman's scrapbook.

<sup>8</sup> *Punch*, Vol. XXI (1851), p.123.

as pieces of reasoning, the Lectures are disjointed and arbitrary throughout, and often quite flimsy.<sup>9</sup>

He was the first critic to attempt to analyse Newman's technique of argument which he called 'rhetorical artifice' by which Newman

preserves himself from saying what is absolutely false. I do not mean to accuse him of intending to deceive his readers. But it appears always to have been almost a law of his mind, to see hardly anything but what he can colour with his own opinions and feelings. The objects and facts which seem to make for him, he multiplies and magnifies: those which are adverse, he diminishes till they are almost imperceptible. . . . This process, exemplified more or less in all Dr. Newman's writings, has never been carried to such a height as in these last Lectures, in which almost everything is out of place, out of keeping, out of sequence, out of proportion; his logical caleidoscope giving a semblance of harmony to objects, which in themselves have neither significance nor connexion.<sup>10</sup>

He commented on the Russian Count's speech:

This invective, which as a piece of buffoonery, as a parody of Exeter Hall oratory, is singularly clever and amusing. [But], without being aware of it, [Newman] has cut his own fingers.

This blunder was, in Hare's view, Newman's use of an implicit analogy between the 'omnipotence' of parliament and the infallibility of the Pope. Hare argued that whereas parliamentary 'omnipotence' is a legal fiction, the Pope really is the supreme judge in theological controversies. This comment may have been what prompted Newman to defend his use of the Parliament/Pope analogy in Note 1 which he appended to later editions. Here Newman points out that he is not making a parallel between the institutions but a point about the use of language: 'whereas every science, polity, institution, religion,

---

<sup>9</sup> Hare, J.C., *The Contest with Rome*, (London, 1852), Note A, p.74.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., Note A, p.83.



uses the words the phrases which it employs in *a sense of its own*, or a *technical* sense, Englishmen, allowing and exemplifying this very principle in the case of their own Constitution, will not allow it to the divines of the Catholic Church' (p.406). Protestants thus make major misunderstanding of Catholic terminology the basis of ignorant attacks on the Church.

Hare took issue with Newman on a large number of historical points, and was particularly outraged at the way that Newman argued (Lecture V) that Protestants and unbelievers have persecuted far more than the Catholic Church has ever done. This, he says, showed that Newman 'is determined to say whatever he chooses, in despite of facts and of reason'. However, he rather spoils his case by going on to defend Protestant persecution on the grounds that 'if torrents of blood were the necessary price of the Reformation, even at that price it would not have been dearly purchast.'<sup>11</sup> Hare was a man of great scholarship, and some of his criticisms of Newman on matters of historical fact may have weight. But he writes from the stance of Establishment superiority, criticising Newman's tone for being 'overbearing quite to a pitch of insolence against Protestants'.<sup>12</sup> Catholics must evidently know their place. He also chose to organise his criticisms in the form of a series of lengthy Notes appended to his much shorter main text and indulges in lengthy Latin footnotes without translation. The contrast with Newman's clarity and fluency is striking. Nevertheless, the whole work is a most detailed and comprehensive response to *Present Position*.

The Catholic commentators were of course enthusiastic. The lectures were reviewed in *The Rambler* (founded a few years earlier by John Capes) which saw them as a kind of training manual for Catholics in how to deal with Protestants, picking out Newman's analysis of the importance of First Principles in Lecture VII as

furnishing a key to the whole mystery of anti-Catholic hostility, and as shewing the

---

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., Note S, p.296.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p.266.



special point of attack upon which our controversial energies should be concentrated.<sup>13</sup>

The reviewer (Capes himself) was alive to the lectures' literary merit, finding in them 'a precision, a clearness and width of view, and a felicity of statement' and defended Newman's use of humour against those priggish and puritanical critics who are

unable to conceive how a man can be really serious who in religious matters intermingles food for laughter with food for tears'.<sup>14</sup>

Capes's own sense of humour seems to have been somewhat lacking, since he found the imaginary Russian Count's speech at the end of Lecture I to be 'the only weak passage of any length in the volume.'<sup>15</sup> This may, however, be on theological grounds, rather than literary, indicating unease at Newman's analogy of the Papal authority with parliamentary omnipotence. He did, however, quote the whole of the 'pattern men' passage as 'the lecturer's own way of illustrating the principle . . . that *in a certain sense* ridicule is the test of truth.'<sup>16</sup> He concluded by strongly endorsing Newman's call for an educated laity in the final Lecture but used it to support those 'amongst us [who] would set the faith before the world in its open, undisguised, actually existing reality', that is, complete with 'devotions, books, saints' lives, popular practices, church services and decorations, miraculous histories, and various other such matters'.<sup>17</sup> These were associated with the converts and sometimes opposed by the 'old' Catholics who 'would pare down our creed to the lowest portions which faith will tolerate.' Since the *Rambler* was later seen as 'liberal', and Newman was later opposed to the Ultramontanes and their extreme version of Papal Infallibility, it is interesting that Capes should see the lectures in this light.

---

<sup>13</sup> *The Rambler*, Vol. VIII, November 1851, Part XLVII, p.387.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p.378.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p.379.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p.387.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p.393.

The other leading Catholic journal, Wiseman's *Dublin Review*, reviewed the book in the following spring. It recognised the real wider Protestant audience which Newman was addressing, contrasting them to his earlier *Lectures on Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in submitting to the Catholic Church*, which had been aimed at his former fellow-Anglicans in the Oxford Movement. The reviewer evidently feels the need to defend the lectures against charges that they are unworthy of Newman:

Father Newman's controversial subjects are not those which would have been undertaken by one, who should make a great point of his permanent reputation as a writer<sup>18</sup>

He therefore praises him for undertaking such a topical controversial subject when he could instead

with the utmost ease obtain for himself a position, on the one hand among the greatest theologians the Church has ever seen, and on the other hand among the deepest thinkers and most accomplished masters of the language whom England has produced.<sup>19</sup>

The reviewer says that the lectures are proof 'how indefinitely small a portion of English Protestantism [Newman] considers the Tractarian party'. He also notes how

the author is very careful to express the fullest sympathy with the prevalent tone of English feeling, where he is able to do so with sincerity.<sup>20</sup>

The review gave detailed coverage of Newman's 'profound psychological [*sic*]' analysis of prejudice in Lecture VI and, like *The Rambler*, paid particular attention to the First Principles argument of Lecture VII, 'the most valuable and profound Lecture of the whole series.'<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, he goes out of his way to praise the Russian count's speech as 'an

---

<sup>18</sup> *The Dublin Review*, No.XXIII, March 1852, p.224.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p.225.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.226.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p.243.



excellent illustration for bringing home to the Protestant mind their real mode of argument.’ He goes on:

We the rather allude to this, because a most respected Catholic contemporary regards the passage as a failure; from whom we differ so widely, that we hardly know any one thing more likely to convince and shame Protestants than its careful perusal.<sup>22</sup>

Although the reviewer is clearly interested in the lectures primarily from the apologetic point of view, he shows some awareness of their literary merit, concluding that ‘our exclusive attention to the *substance* of the work, has prevented us from doing detailed justice to the inimitable excellence of its style and manner.’<sup>23</sup>

The German Catholic scholar, Dollinger, so admired *Present Position* that he translated the book into German,<sup>24</sup> providing a Foreword in which he described Newman as ‘a sensitive observer and a person whose knowledge of mankind enables him to penetrate to the essence of things’. He highlights Newman’s ability to trace back the origins of prejudice to its first principles, praising Lecture VII as ‘a masterpiece of its kind’.<sup>25</sup>

Despite the controversy, the lectures’ literary qualities did achieve some recognition. One otherwise hostile Protestant review compared Newman to Pascal, saying that the lectures had ‘a felicity of wit such as has rarely been witnessed in polemical divinity since the days of the “Provincial Letters”’.<sup>26</sup> Hare paid a rather sour compliment to Newman’s pictures of Protestant parents as ‘laughable enough, and shew his eminent talent for

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p.253.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p.257.

<sup>24</sup> *Borträge über die gegenwärtige Stellung der Katholiken in England.* Von Johann Heinrich Newman, Doctor der Theologie, Priester der Congregation des heiligen Philipp Neri. Aus dem Englischen. Mit einem Vorworte von J.Döllinger (Regensburg, 1853).

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p.vi. [I am indebted to my colleague Tony Tinkel for providing me with a translation of this Foreword.]

<sup>26</sup> *O.A.*, unattributed press cutting in Newman’s scrapbook.



buffoonery'.<sup>27</sup> The judgement of the novelist George Eliot is of greater significance. She found the *Present Position* 'full of clever satire'; she longed to meet Newman but never did.<sup>28</sup> Later, Matthew Arnold also appreciated the lectures, referring to 'all that *lion and unicorn* business which is too plentiful in our Prayer Book, on which Dr. Newman has showed such exquisite raillery, and of which only the Philistine element in our race prevents our seeing the ridiculousness.'<sup>29</sup>

*(b) Critical assessments: late 19th to mid-20th century*

Full appreciation of the lectures' worth had to await an age of less heated religious controversy. Nothing perhaps more marks the change in English attitudes to Catholicism than the change in the nation's view of Newman. Vilified in 1850-1 as one of the hate-figures of the 'Papal Aggression', by 1877 Newman had become so a respected a figure that his old college, Trinity, made him its first honorary fellow. His elevation to the Cardinalate by the new Pope Leo XIII in 1879 brought him again into national prominence, and the Press rejoiced. Hearing the rumour that Newman had been offered a Cardinal's hat, *Punch* commented that "'Tis the good and great head that would honour the Hat / Not the hat that would honour the Head.'<sup>30</sup>

By now, studies were appearing of Newman as both a religious figure and a man of letters. A life of Newman was published in 1882 by Henry Jennings in which the *Present Position* lectures were mentioned as the cause of the Achilli affair. However, Jennings also quoted an account by 'a local historian' who seems to have been an eye-witness of the lectures though now writing some years later. It is significant as the first appreciative critique of the lectures from a non-Catholic standpoint:

---

<sup>27</sup> Hare, *op.cit.*, p.269.

<sup>28</sup> George Eliot, *Letters*, I, 372.

<sup>29</sup> Quoted in Delaura, David J., *Hebrew and Hellene in Victorian England*, (London, 1969), p.129.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted in Trevor, M., *Newman. Light in Winter* (London, 1962), p.556.

. . . all who heard those extraordinary utterances, however much they might differ from some of the statements made and the conclusions arrived at, will never forget the rich literary treat which they had on the occasion. The bursts of fervid eloquence, the sparkling flashes of wit, the passages of keen irony, the subtle though often deceptive logic, the deep sincerity and the earnest piety of the speaker, all combined to produce an effect upon the mind of the hearer which can never entirely pass away. Those who heard the lectures will recall the pleasure of those evenings as they read them now; but to those who did not hear them, the published volume is no more than the letter of a correspondent whom they have never seen and whose voice they have never heard, as compared with the letter of a departed friend whose very look and accent is in the words which they read.<sup>31</sup>

Soon after Newman's death, Richard Hutton (1891), and Augustine Birrell (1892) included praise of *Present Position's* satirical humour in their discussions of Newman's writings. Hutton, who had earlier written one of the first studies of Newman as a writer in an appreciation of the *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, judged that the *Present Position* lectures represent very effectively the force of the 'Protestant tradition' as it was in 1851, though what was truly said then, now enormously exaggerates the force of that tradition, the difference being largely due to Newman's personal influence, exerted partly through the publication of these lectures, though in a far greater degree through the publication of his religious autobiography thirteen years later.

He quoted the 'bells' passage in Lecture II (pp.76-77) as one of the 'passages . . . which pass the limits of irony and approach the region of something like controversial farce, yet farce of no common order of power.'<sup>32</sup> Birrell recognised that 'Humour [Newman] possesses in a marked degree' and was 'glad to find that the "Pilgrim pale with Paul's sad girdle bound" has room for mirth in his heart' - a stereotype of Newman which has

---

<sup>31</sup> Jennings, Henry J., *Cardinal Newman: the story of his life* (Birmingham, 1882), pp. 75-6.

<sup>32</sup> Hutton, Richard H., *Cardinal Newman*, (London, 1891), pp.214-215.



persisted even today. He quoted the Russian Count's speech as 'a delightful example of Dr. Newman's humour, which is largely, if not entirely, a playful humour' and concluded that 'The whole book is one of the best humoured in the English language.'<sup>33</sup> Newman's first biographer, Wilfred Ward (1918), betrays a certain embarrassment in his comment that in the lectures

We have the very curious spectacle of a grave religious apologist giving rein for the first time at the age of fifty to a sense of rollicking fun and gifts of humorous writing, which if expended on other subjects would naturally have adorned the pages of Thackeray's *Punch*.<sup>34</sup>

He has forgotten Newman's earlier satire, for instance in parts of *The Tamworth Reading Room* and much of *Loss and Gain*. Choosing the Russian Count as the best example of satire in the lectures, he admits that it 'certainly shows a power of sustained and, one must admit, very broad burlesque which would win distinction as a humourist [*sic*] for a mere man of letters.'<sup>35</sup> He relates Newman's depiction of the 'Prejudiced Man' to his later treatment of 'intellectual narrowness' in *The Idea of a University* and comments that:

Newman's psychological insight is not only directed towards analysing the mentality which fails to appreciate really cogent reasoning. But . . . it also permeates his own way of presenting his own reasoning, so as to persuade men of the most various mentality among his readers.<sup>36</sup>

Cecil Chesterton (1917), brother of the better known G.K., was one of the first to notice how Newman's 'art of controversy' works in detail. He analyses Newman's treatment of the St. Eligius misquotation in Lecture III:

Now observe the controversial effect of Newman's superb strategy. He has nailed

---

<sup>33</sup> Birrell, Augustine, *Res Judicatae*, (London, 1892), pp.143, 150.

<sup>34</sup> Ward, Wilfred, *Last Lectures*, (London, 1918), p.113.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p.117.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p.130.



the particular lie about St.Eligius to the counter as Macaulay and Huxley would have done. But he has done much more than that. By his patient tracing of the tradition, by his careful marshalling of all the authorities that support it, before he smashes it, he has erected in the mind of his readers an indelible mistrust of all the protestant traditions however venerable and however authoritative. The victory is complete. The enemy is simply obliterated.<sup>37</sup>

He goes on to refer to similar passages in the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* where Newman parallels the early Christians with Catholics in Protestant Britain.

Joseph Reilly (1925) in the U.S. made the first extended literary appreciation of the lectures. He was clearly an enthusiast, but none the less his analysis shows critical insight. He sees the opening Lecture as the key to the whole, in particular the Russian Count's speech:

[Newman's] shafts were skillfully aimed, and ridicule in his hands had the seeming innocence of Addison's and the deadliness of Swift's. How deftly even the most minute parallelisms are insinuated and their cumulative force made to tell. . .

He identifies a number of these parallels, for instance, the public meeting the Count is addressing:

Was it the chance gathering of a mob? Not at all. It was an organized assemblage of supposedly intelligent men, sanctioned by the Czar. (Alas, whispers Newman, how often have men of substance and standing met to assail the Church and how often has the English government openly abetted them!)

Once Newman has 'followed the inspiration of which this introductory lecture was born' he 'is sure of his audience' and 'Ridicule and irony are no longer indirect, but becoming less restrained, border at times upon the burlesque.'<sup>38</sup> This is perceptive of Reilly since he

---

<sup>37</sup> Chesterton, Cecil, 'The Art of Controversy: Macaulay, Huxley and Newman' (*The Catholic World*, July 1917, No.68, pp.446-456).

<sup>38</sup> Reilly, Joseph J., *Newman as a Man of Letters*, (New York, 1925), p.197.

presumably did not know that Newman was writing the lectures week by week and thus may indeed have developed the style of each lecture in the light of the audience's positive response to Lecture I. Reilly also devotes considerable attention to Newman's irony which he found 'marked by a suavity'; it has

a certain insinuating quality . . . as if he were taking you by the arm and with laughing eyes which belied his serious face were going to tell you a rich joke, a clever repartee or an amusing blunder. You feel you are being let in, as it were, as a kind of privileged character, whose appreciation of the ridiculous has been tried and proved. And the laugh is to be on his opponent! Of course, this is not spontaneous and *en passant*; it is carefully planned and unfailingly well-bred, but it is introduced so skillfully and executed so brilliantly and accomplishes its purpose so perfectly that you yield yourself up to his fascination without reserve.<sup>39</sup>

Later less sympathetic critics such as Holloway and Frandsen (see below) were to feel manipulated rather than fascinated, but they also recognised these techniques.

Another American critic, J.Elliott Ross (1933) enthused that the lectures 'undoubtedly contain some of the finest specimens of irony in the English language . . . No man's education in English Literature is entirely complete, who is not familiar with certain passages'. Like Reilly, he quoted the Russian Count passage giving his analysis of its techniques in some detail. He emphasised the contemporary force of Newman's analogy:

Note the art with which Newman prepares his Protestant auditors for a sympathetic hearing of his side, by putting these grotesque misconception of the British Constitution and laws in the mouth of a Russian Count. For at this particular time, the world stage was set for the Crimean War with Russia, and Englishmen were ready to believe almost any absurdity about Russians. Then by this rhetorical device having put his audience in the right frame of mind, Newman goes on with

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p.210.



stroke after stroke of inimitably deft touch to fill in the details.<sup>40</sup>

Despite his enthusiasm, Ross found two faults with the lectures. First that

there is a certain one-sidedness ... one misses the frank acknowledgment of some fault among Catholics that Newman had already made in the King William Street lectures [*Lectures on Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in submitting to the Catholic Church*, 1850], and that he was to make again twenty years later in answer to Pusey's *Eirenicon* [*Letter to Pusey*, 1866] . . . Superb as these lectures are, they would have been strengthened by a few paragraphs here and there pointing out the extravagances of Catholics.<sup>41</sup>

Secondly, he was disappointed that the lectures

are concerned with merely a theoretical or abstract discussion of bigotry . . . he never discusses the broader statistical questions . . . For instance . . . their geographical and racial distribution, their social and economic status, their influence, if any, in politics.

He admitted that 'all such considerations were apart from Newman's purpose . . . Newman was a speculative thinker, rather than a statistician or a social historian' but concluded that 'It was a limitation.'<sup>42</sup> It seems strange that Ross thought such material would have fitted the tone of the lectures.

Some of the most original and perceptive criticism of *Present Position* in the first half of the twentieth century came from France. As early as 1903 Paul Thureau-Dangin had described how the lectures had thrown 'une lumière vengeresse' on Protestant prejudice. He saw the whole work as dominated by Newman's 'ironie redoutable' whose characteristic tone he identified as 'une raillerie qui s'amuse du ridicule qu'elle flagelle,

---

<sup>40</sup> Ross, J.Elliott, *John Henry Newman* (New York and London, 1933), p.58.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p.67.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p.67-8.

tantôt un sarcasme plus amer, plus attristé.’<sup>43</sup> However, it was Fernande Tardivel who in 1937 gave extended consideration to the lectures as ‘le chef-d’oeuvre de la satire newmanienne.’<sup>44</sup> She identified ‘un double principe, négatif et positif’ in Newman’s irony: he will attack ideas which he believes to be wrong but ‘il n’a pas le goût de la destruction, il ne démolit pas à pas à seule fin de démolir.’ By his critique of Protestants’ attitudes ‘il veut leur préparer une mentalité plus ouverte, plus compréhensive, plus libérale, fomentier en eux des dispositions sentimentales qui leur permettront d’accéder à un ordre de vérités jusque là fermé.’ She terms Newman’s approach in both *Loss and Gain* and *Present Position*

La méthode mathématique . . . [qui] est maniée avec une dextérité particulière à laquelle collaborent l’esprit de géométrie et l’esprit de finesse. On voit par exemple quelqu’un exposer une série de propositions bien claires, de faits soigneusement choisis dont l’enchaînement aboutit à une conclusion toute logique; mais arrive une petite phrase insidieuse, et l’équilibre précédent est irrémédiablement rompu, le vice initial des données est mis soudain en évidence; au lecteur d’opérer le rétablissement et de tirer les conclusions.<sup>45</sup>

As an example of this technique (which she also calls ‘une longue spéculation sur la surprise’) she quotes the passage on Protestantism’s appropriation of the nation’s legal structure in Lecture I (pp.64-5) which describes how the ‘sacred power’ and ‘collective intelligence’ of the judicial system ‘were committed for good and all to the politics of a crisis.’

She illustrates Newman’s technique of caricature by quoting (in French translation) some of the episode of the Protestant Scripture Reader at Benediction in Lecture VII. Here, she says,

---

<sup>43</sup> Thureau-Dangin, Paul, *La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre en XIXe Siècle* (Paris, 1903), p.269.

<sup>44</sup> Tardivel, Fernande, *La Personnalité Littéraire de Newman*, (Paris, 1937), p.289.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p.285.



Newman dédouble malicieusement l'adversaire, distinguant en lui pour les opposer, son intelligence et le contenu de cette intelligence qui se révèle un tissu de préjugés.

And she identifies Newman's use of concrete detail to create the picture of an opponent so that

les traits qui composent le physique du personnage, par un délicat badinage ou une élégante raillerie, se transforment insensiblement en un jugement moral.

This technique, she says, reached its perfection in his depiction of the Prejudiced Man (the 'pattern-men' passage of p.296 which she quotes in translation), comparing Newman's style to a *Punch* cartoon:

l'homme d'une seule idée, d'un seul mécanisme mental; chez lui les préjugés ancestraux ont buriné des traits pleins et sommaires, dont l'artiste suit le tracé que l'on croirait destiné à quelque page de *Punch*.<sup>46</sup>

Like Reilly, she suggests a parallel with Swift, quoting both the Lion and Man and the Russian Count passages. She points out that the latter works all the more effectively on the reader who only knows the scholarly Newman and thus suddenly finds himself amidst 'des récits humouristiques de Lilliput.' Since Newman cites *Gulliver's Travels* in the lectures (p.349), it is indeed likely to be the major influence. However, I would also suggest the *Modest Proposal* in which Swift poses as an economist recommending cannibalism as a solution to Ireland's poverty. Both Newman and Swift work by analogy: the reader is amused or shocked by the absurdity or horror of the ignorant Russian or the heartless economist only to realise the parallel closer to home. As it happens, in this case Swift, like Newman, was championing the plight of oppressed Catholics.

Perhaps more than any of the English-speaking critics up to that time, Tardivel has a good ear for Newman's 'petites phrases incisives' with which he delivers his ironic blows. Comparing him to Voltaire, she says that Newman's style has

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p.293.

une manière imperturbable de piquer l'intelligence par un rapprochement inattendu de mots ou d'idées, une attention toujours en éveil pour frapper avec élégance, pour dévoiler l'erreur avec aisance et dextérité, avec un air détaché, et le ton badin qui laisse à peine soupçonner l'hostilité des intentions. Il dira avec une grâce presque mondaine que l'Eglise d'Angleterre 'agrees to differ' [p.76], qu'il est étrange que le catholicisme 'ait à être tué si souvent' [p.10].<sup>47</sup>

She comments on the cumulative effect of Newman's many changes of mood and style throughout the lectures, a feature which a more recent British critic, A.O.J.Cockshut, has also highlighted (see below). The listener she says,

ne peut se soustraire à cette prodigieuse vitalité, il n'a pas le temps de faire des réserves; l'orateur l'entraîne dans sons allure rapide, autour de lui les mots accumulés crépitent come une salve, partent des gerbes de fusées. Cette verve belliqueuses et sonore, qui serre près l'action, devient une véritable poésie bouffonne.

And she quotes the 'bells' section (in English) in illustration. She concludes that the exuberance of Newman's irony was in fact an expression of 'la joie de l'homme d'action' and placed him not 'dans la cellule de la méditation' but 'dans la lice des militants, dans les rangs des Dickens et des Chesterton.'<sup>48</sup> - a far cry from the Newman of English stereotype.

### *(c) Critical assessments: mid-20th century to the present day*

Such a detailed appreciation of the lectures' techniques was not to be equalled for some years. In America, Charles Harrold (1945, revised 1966) described Tardivel's work as 'excellent but not altogether adequate.'<sup>49</sup> His own comments followed Ross very closely:

---

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p.296.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p.298.

<sup>49</sup> Harrold, Charles F., *John Henry Newman. An Expository and Critical Study of His Mind, Thought and Art*, (Connecticut, 1966, 1945), p.vii.



recognising the lectures' historical significance, he regretted that they 'make little effort to be fair and objective' and wished that they had been 'strengthened by a few passages here and there, pointing out the extravagances of some Catholics, or discussing the statistical aspects of the Catholics of the time' though he admitted that 'Newman was hardly a statistician or social historian, and we cannot scold him for not doing what he did not intend to do.'<sup>50</sup> He similarly hailed the Russian Count passage as 'a classic in satire and parody' and the lectures overall as 'In some respects . . . the most amazing work that Newman ever produced.'<sup>51</sup> However, he also displayed the usual Anglo-Saxon assumptions, perpetuating a stereotype which goes back to Ward and describing Newman as 'aristocratically fastidious' (a blunder we should perhaps ascribe to confusion over the nuances of the English class system). He finds the lectures 'not altogether amusing' since Newman 'unflinchingly paints the whole picture' in the Maria Monk passages and 'remains almost inhumanely neutral' when describing the sufferings of Catholic martyrs.<sup>52</sup> Overall, Harrold has no striking new insights into the text.

*Present Position* did not attract serious critical attention in England until the academic establishment became interested in Victorian prose. John Holloway (1953) saw Newman as a Victorian 'sage' and used many examples from *Present Position* when analysing the techniques he used to get his readers to accept his point of view. Holloway noted that in the lectures Newman adopted a defensive stance: 'he worked against keen hostility and could not - at least at first - be too ambitious.' But this was merely a ploy: 'this seeming preoccupation with detail is quite deceptive . . . he proves to have had the most comprehensive, detailed and integrated view of things - in the sage's sense - of any English writer of his century.'<sup>53</sup> He stressed the importance of Newman's personality in creating a

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p.197.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p.196.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p.199.

<sup>53</sup> Holloway, John, *The Victorian Sage*, (London, 1953), p.158.

sympathetic reaction to himself: 'when claiming that Catholics are misunderstood and slandered by Protestants, he good humouredly takes himself as an unfortunate example [pp.118ff].'<sup>54</sup> The tone he adopted, too, was all part of his strategy:

Colouring his modest and winning style everywhere is a note of grave calm, of quiet confidence, of steady and imperturbable advance. 'I shall continue my investigation, and I shall introduce what I have to say by means of an objection ...'; 'this is what will be said, and I reply as follows:- ...' [pp.86, 87]. ...Such turns of phrase are trivial in themselves, but strike us by their number and continuity. ... no device of tone could remind the reader more strongly that truth is a system, and that the parts of that system interrelate and confirm each other.<sup>55</sup>

It is a question, perhaps, how far this was a conscious ploy by Newman or merely the expression of his cast of mind.

Holloway lists various forms of argument regularly used by Newman, starting with 'Enlisting the Negative Evidence':

[Newman asserts] that resistance to Catholicism had only led his hearers towards it. He says that same sort of thing elsewhere - for instance . . . that 'all events, prosperous *or adverse* . . . tend . . . to the triumph of our religion' [*p.vi; italics Holloway's*]. This is a further application of the principle that the world is a system, and is one of the most frequent, effective and yet unobtrusive of Newman's persuasive methods.

Newman treats facts which apparently argue against him as 'positive though recondite illustrations of the principles they appear to discredit' so that 'Apparent reasons for perturbation always turn out to be fresh evidence.'<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately Holloway does not furnish further examples of this technique, which is a pity because much surely hinges on

---

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p.165.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p.168.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p.169.



the particular case. It is part of Newman's argument in Lecture VII that things which appear to a Protestant controversialist to be objections to Catholicism are in fact the result of Catholic beliefs or practices being based on different First Principles from Protestant ones. This is surely a reasonable argument.

Holloway categorises the Russian Count's speech as an example of Newman's use of *argumentum ad hominem*. I would have thought this is a rather contentious use of the term (which means 'an argument or appeal founded on the preferences or principles of a particular person rather than on abstract truth or logical cogency'<sup>57</sup>). I presume Holloway applies it here in the sense that the passage implies that a Protestant's hostility towards the Catholic Church is as foolishly ignorant as the Count's hostility towards all things British. But this would make all arguments from analogy into 'ad hominem' arguments. For instance, in his *Modest Proposal* Swift implies an analogy between an imaginary economic system in which babies are reared to be eaten as food and the actual economic system of exploitation of the Irish poor by rich landlords. I suppose the landlords would have felt that this was an 'ad hominem' argument because it equated them with cannibals, but we surely do not think any the less of Swift's analogy.

Holloway feels the force of the analogy of the Count's attack on 'John Bullism'; the argument is

interesting for its multifarious development. Britain is at one extremity of Europe, and meddles officiously in the affairs of the Continent; its constitution, full of mystical nonsense like 'the King can do no wrong,' is a crazy anachronism. . .

Each time, if you think what Newman describes would be ignorant and foolish, so you must the parallel real instances of slander against Catholics.<sup>58</sup>

Holloway thinks Newman had to rely on this kind of argument

because his first principles were neither self-evident nor easily proved. . . But he

---

<sup>57</sup> O.E.D.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p.172.

makes this virtual necessity a positive strength. Arguments of this kind are possible because religion is a system; and dependence on the system comes to look like positive confirmation of it.

This is implicitly critical of Newman, as if he is doing something underhand, and seems to me rather unfair. First, Newman did not set out to prove his own first principles in *Present Position*; he expressly states in the Preface: 'The Author repeats here, what he has several times observed in the course of the Volume itself, that his object has not been to prove the divine origin of Catholicism' (p.ix). (To criticise any religion's first principles for not being 'easily' proved is in any case highly contentious; if any religion's were, there would presumably never be any religious disagreements). He was therefore under no 'virtual necessity' to use arguments from analogy, any more than Swift was, whose first principles Holloway would presumably find easy to prove. Newman chose to use analogy as an argument, presumably because he thought it was valid and effective.

Holloway's further statement that such arguments rely on religion being a system is true. Newman draws an analogy between an imaginary Russian's misunderstanding of the English political system and Protestant misunderstanding of the Catholic theological system. This makes the reader realise that Catholicism is indeed a system (and can therefore be understood or misunderstood), but it surely does not necessarily 'confirm' that system. For instance, I might make up a similar analogy to show that Christians should not ignorantly misinterpret the language and symbolism of Hinduism. This would encourage my readers to recognise that religion as a coherent belief system and not just illogical nonsense, but it would not mean that I confirmed its truth. I suppose, however, that this very act of making Catholicism be recognised as a system was itself provocative to a nineteenth century Protestant bigot, though not, one would have thought, to a twentieth century literary critic.

Holloway is perhaps on more convincing ground when he points out how Newman himself sometimes attacks his opponents' motives, as when he says that to call the



Catholic Church anti-Christ was ‘a thought of genius . . . as I think preternatural genius’ [p.224] which implies diabolical inspiration (though Newman is, of course, entitled to such a view). Holloway is also surely right to note Newman’s use of the *tu quoque* argument, as when he responds to Protestant attacks on Catholic priests’ failures to observe celibacy by asking if there are not as many lapses from Protestant clergy’s marriage vows (pp.133ff). He points out that Newman spends over forty pages, virtually the whole of one Lecture, with a *tu quoque* argument that Protestants have persecuted as much or more than Catholics. However, he appears then to imply that Newman was interested in sheer length:

one should remember, if it seems over-ingenious to put much weight on the kinds of argument Newman relies on, that no other device of exposition can be prolonged like this.<sup>59</sup>

I do not think the passage in question reads as if it has been ‘prolonged’. Holloway is again implicitly criticising Newman for being ‘over-ingenious’ in ‘putting much weight’ on this kind of argument. But Newman is surely making a fair point, albeit in *tu quoque* form. Holloway does not perhaps appreciate just how much of Protestant polemic was spent detailing the scandals about the Catholic clergy. Holloway sees ulterior motives everywhere in Newman: he claims that even the ‘bells’ passage (pp.76-7) is an illustration carefully chosen to depict a Protestant chaos as well as to emphasise the repetitive nature of the Anglican bishops’ accusations against the ‘Papal Aggression.’ Perhaps the bells imagery does imply noisy chaos, but it is not its primary function – and the passage is surely very funny as well. Holloway does not appear to enjoy Newman’s humour much.

*Present Position* also began to be considered for its place in the development of Newman’s philosophical thought. A.J.Boekraad (1955) contrasted what Newman says about First Principles in Lecture VII with his approach in the *Grammar of Assent*. J.H.Walgrave (1939) had argued that the difference between the two books was so great

---

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p.176.

that the *Grammar* must be considered as correcting *Present Position*.<sup>60</sup> The point at issue was: were the 'First Principles' in *Present Position*'s Lecture VII to be considered objects of Notional Assent or of Real Assent as they are described in the *Grammar*? As abstract principles they should, according to the *Grammar*, only be the object of Notional Assent, but Boekraad admits that 'they almost seem ideal cases of real assents. They are, namely, beliefs, proceeding immediately from the mind, characterising it, indistinguishable from it, so much identical with it, that they become a principle of activity, a kind of nature.' However, he defends Newman's consistency against Walgrave, arguing that

[In original experiences] first principles lie hidden, are embedded. . . .In an argument we simply use them as notional assents often forgetting their origin. . . . This last was his position in the *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics*; there was no need for him, at that time, to be as complete as possible; he wished only to bring out their undeniable force: 'they are absolute monarchs, and if they are true, they act as the best and wisest of fathers to us: but if they are false, they are the most cruel and baneful of tyrants.' [p.283]

Boekraad's conclusion is that

we must not conceive of this opposition between the later and earlier statements, as if the later ones were a correction or retraction of the former . . . we must conceive of it as a development in the sense of a greater precision of thought, a more complete exposition of details and their mutual relations, which is the thing to be expected if we realise that in the lectures . . . Newman himself admits, that he cannot fully do justice to his subject whilst in the 'Grammar' he was at his best.<sup>61</sup>

My list of the revisions which Newman made to the original text of *Present Position* (see Textual Appendix 1) now suggests supporting evidence for Boekraad's view since

---

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Walgrave, J.H., *Newman's beschrijving en verantwoording van het werkelijk denken*, T.P. [*Tijdschrift voor Philosophie* (Leuven-Utrecht)], 1939, I., p.542, ft.64.

<sup>61</sup> Boekraad, A.J., *The Personal Conquest of Truth According to J.H.Newman* (Louvain, 1955), pp.216-7.



Newman made some minor alterations of vocabulary in these passages but no changes of substance, whereas in others of his works he made major emendations when he had modified his views. However, the whole dispute is only really of interest to those who wish to trace the overall development of Newman's thought in this area. The 'First Principles' argument in Lecture VII is perfectly coherent as it stands, and debate about its consistency with the *Grammar* does not advance our appreciation of *Present Position* itself.

George Tillotson (1965) termed the lectures 'Newman's one-man Exhibition of 1851.' They 'show Newman's serious but exuberant wit at its best'.<sup>62</sup> He reviews the anti-Catholic flavour of many of the novels of that time, and comments that Dickens's *A Child's History of England* (1852-4) in which the Pope is the villain throughout exemplifies what Newman says in the lectures about the Protestant view of history.

Thomas Vargish's perceptive comment (1970), linking Newman's treatment of Kingsley in the *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* with his satire of the Russian Count in Lecture I, has already been noted above (see Section III) as has his identification of the insular Englishman with Dickens's Mr. Podsnap (see Section IV). He sees this as part of Newman's social comment, linking it to his criticism of the hedonism of much of English society such as is to be found in an 1828 sermon against 'pleasure parties'. Vargish is particularly interested in the First Principles section of Lecture VII and Newman's explanation of how they work: 'the more familiar the mind becomes with the principles it has adopted, the more satisfied it is with their validity.'<sup>63</sup> He was also the first critic to point out that Newman quoted a lengthy extract on miracles from *Present Position* (pp.301-313 in the present edition) in the Appendix of the first edition of the *Apologia*.

The major contribution to study of *Present Position*, however, came with Frandsen's 1975 unpublished thesis on the rhetoric of the lectures, mentioned above (p.74). It is a

---

<sup>62</sup> Tillotson, G., 'Newman the Writer' in Tillotson, G. & K., *Mid-Victorian Studies*, (London, 1965), p.322.

<sup>63</sup> Vargish, op.cit. p.117.

systematic analysis, identifying the various rhetorical devices Newman uses. He argues that Newman's use of rhetoric differed radically from the classical model, being aimed more at the emotions than the reason, an approach which entailed an emphasis on the concrete. He lists the many rhetorical devices to be found in the lectures: parallelism, isocolon, antithesis, parenthesis, apposition, ellipsis, asyndeton, polysyndeton, alliteration, epistrophe, climax, polyptoton, metaphor, simile, metonymy, personification, hyperbole, litotes, rhetorical question and irony (and in his detailed commentary adds synecdoche, metastasis, paralipsis, reductio ad absurdum and anaphora). Page by page, Frandsen identifies examples of these techniques in the lectures, so that overall the thesis amounts to the most detailed commentary yet done on the book. Its close textual analysis, elucidating how passages achieve their effects, is most valuable.

Frandsen's main influence is Holloway, whose overall approach he closely follows and many of whose arguments he repeats. He quotes Reilly but is evidently unaware of Tardivel's work. Like Holloway, he is fundamentally hostile to Newman, seeing him as effectively dishonest. Newman, he says, has a 'subtle indirect approach to controversy' in which 'he uses techniques that catch the reader unawares'. Among these are:

stating a principle with which the reader is eager to agree, but which leads logically to an outcome favorable to Newman's case; . . . under cover of presenting a story, [leading] the reader through irony, metaphor, and allusion, to draw conclusions . . . so strong that they might antagonize the reader if stated openly; . . . drawing on examples from history to imply guilt by association; . . . [suggesting] special meanings for certain words to work in conjunction with the placing of words in proximity to each other to imply the desired the conclusion.

Using 'the power of subjective feeling' Newman, he says,

can build up his poetical vision of the Catholic Church step-by-step until he gains assent by having the reader fully re-experience the vision in his own mind, as well



as experiencing the vision of its Protestant detractors as prejudiced and evil men.’<sup>64</sup>

Holloway had seen *The Idea of a University* as using just these techniques.<sup>65</sup>

Frandsen concludes by saying that many of Newman’s basic arguments are in fact specious and quotes five ‘disturbing instances’: (1) that Newman’s ascription of corruption in the Catholic Church to sinful human nature is an evasion of the issue of corporate responsibility; (2) that Newman’s laying the blame for the anti-Catholic feeling of the populace on prejudice alone is an evasion of genuine doctrinal differences which caused legitimate antagonism, in particular the Papacy; (3) that Newman makes ‘wild charges’ against Protestants using a technique of ‘accusation by implication’ (repeating Holloway’s argument about Newman’s hint that the devil had inspired Protestants to call the Church Anti-Christ); (4) that Newman is ‘less than candid in dealing with the issue of religious toleration’ by attempting to disguise the greater toleration granted in England than in Rome; and finally (5) that ‘Newman’s whole argument in Lecture VII that to understand Catholicism properly one must first accept its First principles is an exercise in circular reasoning.’<sup>66</sup> Of these, I have already discussed the third. The first is a wider issue of ecclesiology which Newman had already dealt with in much greater detail in the *Lectures on the Difficulties of Anglicans* (Lectures VII and IX). To the second accusation, Newman has already replied in his Preface, where he says that his object ‘has not been to prove the divine origin of Catholicism, but to remove some of the moral and intellectual impediments which prevent Protestants from acknowledging it. Protestants cannot be expected to do justice to a religion whose professors they hate and scorn’ (p.ix); the lectures are not works of doctrinal apologetic. To the fourth accusation, it could surely be said that the degree of Catholic and Protestant toleration is a matter of legitimate historical debate, and it is perhaps not unreasonable for Newman to be redressing the balance.

---

<sup>64</sup>.Ibid., pp.256-261.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., pp.168-201.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., pp.261-4.

Frandsen's last point seems to misread Newman who does not say that Protestants must *accept* Catholics' First Principles but that they should fairly *recognise* that they are different from Protestants' First Principles; to do so does not mean that 'any basis for independent judgement is thereby destroyed' – it simply shifts the argument to more fundamental ground.

These are the only issues of substance on which Frandsen attacks the lectures. I find myself agreeing with his analysis of particular passages, much of which is simply good 'practical criticism' (for instance, he brings out the effective use of 'river' imagery throughout Lecture IV ) while wondering at his evident distaste for Newman's rhetorical techniques. It seems to me to be based on a lack of appreciation of the lectures' humour. Often Newman's 'hits' are simply good debating points which Frandsen takes too seriously. He perhaps does not quite appreciate the tone of such discourse which is in the long English tradition of robust debate. Holloway's identification of Newman as a 'sage' is perhaps a misleading prism through which to view *Present Position*. The *Grammar of Assent* is the work of a sage; *Present Position* is the work of a debater and satirist.

A number of recent critics mention *Present Position* as part of their overall interpretation of Newman's thought or style. However, in recent years there have been some signs that the lectures themselves are again regaining critical attention in their own right. Ian Ker has raised the profile of Newman's satire, as indicated above (Section III). In his biography of Newman he gives a detailed critical account of the lectures.<sup>67</sup> He deals at length with their imagery which he says is 'some of the most startling and vivid imagery to be found in his writings', noting that Newman 'enjoys turning the images that have stained the Protestant imagination against Protestantism itself', quoting Lecture I's image of England as a 'convent' into which 'no pure gleam of light finds its way' (p.44). Sometimes, he says, the imagery has a 'savage, Swiftian flavour' or can be 'grotesque in the Dickens manner', or it can be 'characteristically Newmanian in its sharply concrete

---

<sup>67</sup> Ker, Ian, *John Henry Newman*, (Oxford, 1990), pp.364-372.



psychological detail', and he gives numerous examples of images in illustration. 'As Newman warms to his theme,' he says,

the humour becomes more and fantastically grotesque. . . . Nowhere in his writings is Newman more exuberantly funny. Bully and monster as the Protestant Tradition may be, it is also depicted as absurd and ridiculous.<sup>68</sup>

Ker sees Newman's most important line of argument as the argument from analogy, such as the Russian Count's speech, and in this respect the lectures are similar to the *Difficulties of Anglicans*:

Analogies reveal inconsistencies: in comparing and seeing similarities between facts and situations it is impossible not to note lack of consistency in attitudes to comparable phenomena. . . . Newman makes much play of the inconsistencies of the other side. He especially enjoys stressing that anti-Catholicism rests on '*tradition, immemorial, unauthenticated tradition*' – whereas it is precisely the Catholic insistence on tradition that Protestants object to. . . . The Protestant Tradition totally rejects the very notion of infallibility, but in practice regards as infallible its own objections to Catholicism. Protestants disapprove of images in Catholic churches, and yet they are quite happy to burn the Pope in effigy – but 'How is it childish to honour an image if it is not childish to dishonour it?'<sup>69</sup>

Frandsen's analysis would certainly support Ker's view that 'the rhetoric of the lectures is more subtle than has perhaps been suggested.' Ker also notes the importance of the 'personal appeal' in the lectures, especially in Newman's references to his own Englishness.<sup>70</sup> Yet at the same time 'from one point of view the lectures represent an assault on a central aspect of Victorian philistinism', as I have already discussed above in following up Vargish's and Ker's suggested parallels between *Present Position's* 'pattern

---

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p.367.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., pp.369-370.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., pp.370-1.

men' and Dickens's Mr.Podsnap. Although neither of those critics puts it this way, one could perhaps say that there is thus a creative tension between the Englishness of Newman and the narrow, prejudiced Englishness he is attacking.

John Griffin, whose assessment of the lectures' value as historical evidence has also already been referred to above (p.19) is unusual among critics in not seeing *Present Position* as satire, as I have also already discussed above (p.75). He finds it 'hard to agree' with Ker and Ward's view of the work as 'a literary satire or joke at the expense of that quintessential Englishman, John Bull', and quotes in support Newman's own words in the Fourth Edition 'I cannot help it if, in exposing the prejudice of my countrymen, I incur the imputation of using satire against them. I do not wish to do so.'<sup>71</sup> However, Griffin is unaware that the comment was added later and that Newman is thus defending himself against accusations by hostile critics that he has indulged in satire in the sense of personal ridicule or lampooning. For Griffin, however, the lectures are primarily an exposure of the Protestant tradition of prejudice; and he may have a point when he goes on to say that their satirical tone in fact made Newman's attack less palatable and caused people to say that he had 'deteriorated.' Indeed, Griffin thinks the lectures' satirical reputation is what has caused them to be neglected, though it is also because they 'are regarded as more or less invention'.<sup>72</sup> He is interested in them, on the contrary, precisely as historical evidence, and he emphasises the 'chronic prejudice' that Catholics faced. Anti-Catholicism was present 'in virtually every major Victorian writer', liberals like Mill, Macaulay and Huxley, apostate Evangelicals like Carlyle and Ruskin, and even that great scourge of philistinism Mathew Arnold. It was thus not confined to "vulgar" or "ultra-Protestant" or "popular" Protestantism', and indeed the worst form of anti-Catholicism could be traced to Gladstone and other Puseyites.<sup>73</sup> Griffin sees the lectures as 'a philosophic history of the English

---

<sup>71</sup> Griffin, op.cit., p.49.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p.54.



Reformation and its effects and an accurate chronicle of what was taking place – at all levels – in Newman’s own time.’ They represent a new attitude to the Reformation; they are ‘the first major challenge to a Protestant historiography of three hundred years duration.’<sup>74</sup> He defends Newman against Owen Chadwick who had seen the attack on Achilli as an ‘impulsive’ rushing into libel. In fact Newman had consulted lawyers before making his attack; and the trial showed the ‘literal accuracy’ of what Newman said, and the incident ‘serves to strengthen the value of the text as history.’<sup>75</sup>

A.O.J.Cockshut (1990) also stresses the historical reality to which *Present Position* was a response. He gives a full account of the scope of anti-Catholicism and poses the question, ‘Did Newman exaggerate?’ to which he concludes:

Anyone who immerses himself for a week in the relevant books, pamphlets, sermons, leading articles, and episcopal charges may well reply, ‘No, he understated.’ Things he omitted were often more wild and poisonous than what he included.<sup>76</sup>

He quotes from numerous anti-Catholic writings in illustration. Interestingly, he finds that Newman’s account of the way in which conversions to the Catholic Church are treated by the prejudiced man ‘is well reflected in an article in the weighty Tory journal the *Quarterly Review*, which speaks of “two or three dozen contemptible apostasies” which have made an unnecessary sensation.’<sup>77</sup> In contrast with Newman’s other works which were either produced in trying circumstances or were themselves difficult to write, *Present Position* was, says Cockshut, ‘a happy book about an unhappy situation.’<sup>78</sup> He argues that it was indirectly affected by Newman’s long avoidance as an Anglican of the real Protestant

---

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p.57.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p.64.

<sup>76</sup> Cockshut, A.O.J., ‘The Literary and Historical Significance of the *Present Position of Catholics*’, in Ker, I. & Hill, A.G (ed.), *Newman after a Hundred Years*, (Oxford, 1990), pp.114-5.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p.119.

nature of the Church of the England and that he over-compensated somewhat now by minimizing the High Church aspect of Anglicanism. Nevertheless, Newman's stressing of the word 'Protestant' was a shrewd tactical move:

his tactical aim was to separate the high Protestant tradition of the ruling groups, the universities, and the organs of serious opinion from the underworld in which they seemed for the time to have merged themselves. He wished to shame educated readers out of an alliance with ignorant and vulgar associates.

He makes the interesting observation that

As a work of literature, the book is unusual in combining so many different genres. It is fiery and tender, analytical and rhetorical, bitter, comic and solemn. At different times it is as calmly reasonable as Hume, as fiercely contemptuous as Swift, as funny as Dickens. It contains history, philosophy, psychology, persuasive argument, ridicule, and unbridled fantasy. Yet it has a single theme, a continuous thread of argument, and a strict policy of excluding the irrelevant.<sup>79</sup>

He does, however, think the book has its weaknesses: Newman's underrating of the influence of Dissent (as opposed to the established Church of England); his ascribing an exclusively Protestant character to English literature (see also my Editor's Note on p.68); his ascribing 'a single Machiavellian line of policy' to Protestant statesmen who were merely 'improvising under the pressure of events'; his assertion that Protestantism withers without state support (which has not been the case in America); and his 'over-eager acceptance of dubious accounts of miracles.'<sup>80</sup>

But he praises the way that 'there is no disharmony between polemical journalism and calm reflection.' *Pace* Holloway, Cockshut finds Newman's use in the lectures of the *tu quoque* argument (replying to an accusation against the Catholic Church by finding a

---

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p.121.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p.122.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p.123.



similar or worse example among Protestants), ‘one of his most effective weapons.’ The Russian Count passage is the most brilliant example of this where he is able to ‘turn the *tu quoque* into glorious farce.’<sup>81</sup> He is also another critic who notes that ‘the book is unusual for [Newman] in being organised around visual images, which are not merely metaphors but symbols of clusters of ideas, events and arguments’ the most important, according to Cockshut, being the ‘bells’ passage, the crowd gaping into the Oratory house’s foundations, the William III statue and the London chapel Benediction.<sup>82</sup> And round these are organized minor and local ones which are ‘humdrum, and produce an effect of gentle domestic mockery. Some suggest childishness and insinuate the query, “Why cannot Protestant England grow up?”’ He concludes:

Behind the irony, the stern satire, the fantastic humour, the analysis of historical and logical error, lies, paradoxically and hearteningly, confidence in his fellow-countrymen . . . Perhaps already in 1851 he obscurely felt that the long reign of prejudice was ending.<sup>83</sup>

There is thus now a considerable body of varied critical writing on *Present Position*. It is a text which continues to evoke strong reactions and is finally emerging from its former unwarranted neglect. The polemical battle which Newman was fighting is long over. The Papal Aggression crisis turned out to be the last mass expression of ‘No Popery’ bigotry in England; the last anti-Catholic riots were local ones in the 1860’s, although on the fringes of Protestantism the old anti-Catholic myths and rhetoric lingered on. (The mid-1990’s saw the republication of *Maria Monk* in the United States, and Catholic controversialists had to dust down the old weapons to refute it yet again.) Mainstream non-Catholic Christians have of course left behind the bigotry of the past, and certainly at the academic

---

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p.124.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p.125.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p.126.

level anti-Catholicism is now well recognised and studied as a phenomenon in its own right. In one sense, therefore, the apologetic and polemical value of the *Present Position* lectures is past. In a wider sense, however, the *Present Position* lectures have a continuing relevance. British (and U.S.) culture may be post-Protestant, indeed post-Christian, but it has its own stereotypes of Catholicism whether in soap operas, with their sexually frustrated priests needing to be liberated from celibacy, or in grave newspaper and magazine articles criticising the 'oppressive' policies of the Vatican. Newman's analysis of the prejudices of his own time may well have resonance as a counter-cultural critique today.

Satire necessarily arises from particular historical circumstances, but the best satire continues to work long after those circumstances have passed. The *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* surely pass that test. Those who are not particularly interested in the religious aspects of Newman will discover in these lectures an English satirist of considerable skill and effectiveness; while those who usually read him for theological or spiritual guidance will find here a Newman who makes them laugh. They may well come to agree with Newman's own judgement that this is indeed his 'best written book.'<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, Vol.XXVI, p.115.



[The text of *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* (Sixth Edition) is  
appended in a separately bound volume.]

## EDITOR'S NOTES

iii. 10 *Tempus tacendi, et tempus loquendi*: 'A time to keep silence, and a time to speak' (Ecclesiastes 3:7). In the circumstances of the anti-Catholic agitation of 1850-1, Newman feels that the time has come to break silence and speak out about the true position of Catholics in English society (see *Prepos.* p.390).

v. 1-3 **The Most Reverend Paul, Lord Archbishop of Armagh** Paul Cullen (1803-78) was Archbishop of Armagh from 1849 to 1852, after which he became Archbishop of Dublin. Newman had just been asked by Cullen to help with the setting up of the new Catholic University of Dublin. Cullen visited him twice in Birmingham while he was writing *Present Position*, asking him on July 18th to accept the position of Rector of the proposed university. Newman travelled to Ireland as soon as the lectures were over at the end of September (see *A.W.*, 'Memorandum About my Connection with the Catholic University', pp.280ff). The dedication of the lectures to Cullen was thus a natural choice in the circumstances, though once Newman knew that he was to be sued for libel by Achilli he checked that Cullen was happy to accept the dedication (see *L.D.*, XIV, pp.342-3, 347).

v. 12 **an Act of Parliament** The Ecclesiastical Titles Act (1851) had just been rushed through Parliament in response to the setting up of the new Catholic Hierarchy. It made it illegal for anyone to assume the title of any 'pretended', i.e. Catholic, episcopal see, so Cullen was technically breaking the law if he called himself Archbishop of Armagh, and Newman is being deliberately defiant in so addressing him. No-one was ever prosecuted under this anti-Catholic legislation which was repealed in 1870. Newman had originally intended to make a much stronger statement, contrasting the prohibition of Catholic episcopal titles with the freedom of speech allowed to unbelievers:



A subject of the United Kingdom may with impunity expose the Scriptures to contempt, ridicule the Apostle's Creed, speak against revealed religion, nay, deny the existence of a Supreme Judge; but should he be a Catholic Bishop, he may not subscribe to himself that office of his religion, to which he has been called by its constituted authorities according to its immemorial usage. To reject the Saviour of man is a far less political offence than to acknowledge His earthly Vicar; atheism circulates unmolested while it lives in peace with the established Protestantism.

He consulted Edward Badely, his lawyer in the Achilli case, about this who advised him to modify it (see *L.D.*, xiv, p.342). Newman then suggested the wording:

There are many things which the Queen's subjects may say with impunity: they are suffered to deny the Christian faith, and to impugn the authenticity and sacredness of its inspired documents; they are allowed, for whatever cause, to make even further aggressions upon it; but should etc.

but he eventually dropped the passage entirely (*ibid*, p.346).

vi. 19-21 **whose kindness ... at Rome in 1847** 'I first knew Dr.Cullen at Rome in 1847, when he was very civil to me, and took the trouble of being the official theological censor of my four Latin Dissertations then and there published' (*A.W.*, p.280). The relationship between the two men became more difficult during Newman's period as Rector of the Dublin University; Newman himself gives a detailed account of these events in his 'Memorandum'. However, Cullen later came to Newman's help in 1867 when he vouched for Newman's orthodoxy when asked by the authorities in Rome; and he supported him again in 1874 when he wrote an approving pastoral letter about Newman's *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, which the Ultramontanes thought was too liberal (see Ker, *John Henry Newman* (London, 1990), pp.609, 691).

ix. 1-2 **Brothers of the Oratory** A group of laymen ('seculars') aiming to carry out an

apostolate in the world inspired by the spirit of the Oratory and under the guidance of the Oratorian priests. Also known as the 'Little Oratory', this was an activity which Newman considered 'more important than anything else' (see *L.D.*, xiv, p.274). He later even wanted to set up a female version (see *ibid.*, xvii, p.137).

x. 19 **the great philosopher of antiquity** Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) devotes much of Book II of his *Rhetoric* to the question of the disposition of a speaker's audience: 'for opinions vary, according as men love or hate, are wrathful or mild, and things appear either altogether different, or different in degree; for when a man is favourably disposed towards one on whom he is passing judgement, he either thinks that the accused has committed no wrong at all or that his offence is trifling; but if he hates him the reverse is the case.' (Book II, I, 4, trans J.H.Freese (London, 1926), p.171)

xiii. 12 **In Fest. Nativ. B.M.V.** 'On the Feast of the Birthday of the Blessed Virgin Mary' i.e. 8<sup>th</sup> September.

2. 28-9 **my fable . . . is old** The story is one of Aesop's fables. Aesop was a Phrygian slave of the 6th century B.C., but the tales which are traditionally ascribed to him are much older.

3. 22 **Sampson** See Judges 14:5-6.

3. 23 **David** See 1 Samuel 17:34-35.

4. 29 **a story of two knights** A mediaeval allegory of unknown authorship. In the original version a third knight arrives who tells the two disputants the truth about the shield. Newman slightly adapts the story to put the emphasis on each antagonist seeing



things from his opponent's point of view.

5. 29 **Goethe** Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1842); the reference is to his novel *Eine Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774).

5. 31 **Schiller's drama of the "Robbers"** *Die Räuber* (1781) by Johann von Schiller (1759-1805) was at one period banned for its romantic view of robbery.

5. 33 **Gay's "Beggar's Opera"** This play (1728) by John Gay (1684-1732) features low-life criminals and was immensely popular.

6. 1-2 **a celebrated poet . . . Cain** The verse-drama *Cain: A Mystery* (1821) by Lord Byron (1788-1824) defended both murder and incest by its eponymous biblical hero and provoked much controversy.

7. n.1 **Guy Mannering** (1815; 1885 edn.) The extracts are from pp.222-3, 226, 231-2. Newman has silently omitted some lines but without distorting the passages.

8. 9 **Walter Scott** (1771-1832).

8. 10 **coxcombs** foolish and vain young men.

8. 15 **Salvator** Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), Italian painter of dramatic landscapes.

8. 16 **the fairy scenes of Claude** Claude Lorraine (Gelée) (1600-82), French landscape painter.

8. 23 **beau garçon** gallant and fashionable young man.

8. 26 **lucerne** a pod-bearing plant, resembling clover, cultivated for fodder. Newman later used this plant to illustrate the different ways a child can assent to propositions; see *G.A.*, p.17.

10.3 **Cinderella** the unhappy younger sister, forced to work as a drudge, while her older sisters go to fine balls. The story is best known in the version by Charles Perrault (1628-1703) in his *Contes de ma mère l'oye* (1697).

10. 7 **griffin** a mythological monster with the legs, breast and head of an eagle and the body of a lion.

10. 7 **wivern** a mythological winged dragon with an eagle's feet and a serpent's tail.

10. 8 **salamander** a mythological lizard-like monster which could live in fire.

10. 20 **great societies** the anti-Catholic organisations (see Introduction p.15).

13. 15-16 **the Homilies of the Church of England** twenty one sermons, prescribed to be read out in churches of the Church of England, promulgated in 1542. In *Tract 90* on the Thirty-Nine Articles (1841) Newman had appealed to the Homilies to provide evidence for a Catholic interpretation of the Articles (see *V.M.*, ii, pp.259ff.). The very anti-Catholic extract quoted here is from the *Homily on Peril of Idolatry*.

13. 29 **Bishop Newton** Thomas Newton (1704-82), Bishop of Bristol; author of *Observations upon the Prophecies of David and the Apocalypse* (1773) in which the



Antichrist was identified with the Pope. As a young man Newman had read and been greatly influenced by Newton's work, and he recorded that 'my imagination was stained by the effects of this doctrine up to the year 1843; it had been obliterated from my reason and judgment at an earlier date' (*Apo.*, p.100). He had discussed this work, which he described as the main source for the English Protestant tradition of Antichrist, in an article in the *British Critic* magazine in October 1840 ('The Protestant Idea of Antichrist', *Ess.*, ii, pp.112-185). In this article Newman makes a witty critique of Newton's somewhat worldly and careerist character and life. See Introduction, pp.37ff.

14. n.2 **Dissert. 22.** *Dissertations on the Prophecies, which have Remarkably Been Fulfilled, and at this time Are Fulfilling in the World* (London, 2 vols., 1820), pp.112-3, 115.

15. 1 **M.Guizot** François Pierre Guillaume Guizot (1787-1874), French historian, Prime Minister of France 1847-8.

15. 27 **Dr.Waddington** George Waddington (1793-1869), Dean of Durham and a noted church historian.

15. 28-9 **Ecclesiastical History** Waddington, G., *A History of the Church from the Earliest Ages to the Reformation* (London, 1833), p.233. He footnotes to the passage from Guizot which may therefore have been how Newman came to notice it.

15. n.3 **Europ. Civ., p.56, Beckwith** Guizot, M., *Lectures on European Civilization*, trans. Pricilla Maria Beckwith (London, 1837), p.56, 57. The italics are Newman's. The ellipsis indicates an omission of 21 lines, but the sense is not altered.

17. 24 **fustian** a thick, hard-wearing twilled cloth, such as a working-man's jacket might be made of; thus another disguise.

18. 1-2 **forcibly obliged the Pope to put them down** During the second half of the eighteenth century the Jesuits had been expelled from France, Spain, Portugal, Naples and Austria. Under pressure from the Bourbon sovereigns, Pope Clement XIV suppressed the order completely in 1773. It was restored by Pope Pius VII in 1814.

18. 15 **Joseph Blanco White** (1775-1841) had been a priest in Spain but had gradually lost his faith. He came to England, re-discovered his Christian faith and was ordained a Church of England clergyman. For a while he was tutor to Lord Holland's family. Newman had known him well at Oriel College. They played the violin together, and both were protégés of Whateley (see below Notes on pp.75.33 and 143. 16-17). White later became a Unitarian minister and ultimately seems to have had no religious faith at all. The extract Newman quotes is from *Doblado's Letters* in *The New Monthly Magazine*, Vol.II, 1821, pp.157-88. He had asked his friend David Lewis to track down this extract for him (see *L.D.*, xiv, p.285). He gives a full account of White and quotes extensively from another of his works in Lecture IV (see *Prepos.* pp.142-160). For a sympathetic account of White's life, see Murphy, M., *Blanco White, Self-exiled Spaniard* (New Haven & London, 1989).

19. 3 **Pascal and the Jansenist party** Blaise Pascal (1623-62), French mathematician, physicist and moralist, was the most outstanding of the followers of Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638). Jansenism, which denied the freedom of the will and the possibility of resisting divine grace and tended to rigourist moral views, became a powerful movement among French Catholics. It was opposed by the Jesuits and was repeatedly condemned as heretical by the Church. Pascal's *Provincial Letters* (1656) were a brilliant and witty



attack on the Jesuits; however, 'the gifted Pascal, in the work on which his literary fame is mainly founded, does not approve himself to a Catholic judgment' (*Idea*, p.315).

19. 25 **Exeter Hall** a building in the Strand in London used by Evangelical groups for public meetings, including anti-Catholic ones. Newman uses it as shorthand for the bigoted low church Protestantism, and therefore anti-Catholicism, of his day. For a discussion of the article Newman wrote about it for *The British Critic* (Vol. XXIV, July, 1838, pp.190-211), see Introduction, pp.34ff.

20. 1-2 **Lion of the tribe of Judah** See Revelation 5:5 where it is a title of the Messiah. Anti-Catholic rhetoric used the term to refer to Protestants in their struggle against the forces of AntiChrist; here it also becomes another allusion to the Lion and Man fable.

20. 23 **Dr.Neander** Johann Augustus Wilhelm Neander (1789-1850), church historian; professor at Heidelberg. Newman quotes from his *The Life of St.Chrysostom*, trans. Rev.J.C.Stapleton, (3 vols, London, 1837), pp.85, 88-9, 90-1, 91-2, 92-3, making various silent omissions (see below).

20. 28 **St.Chrysostom** St.John Chrysostom (347-407), Archbishop of Constantinople, one of the four great Greek Doctors of the Church. His sermons and letters contain advice and exhortations to the religious life, and he also wrote extensive and penetrating commentaries on the Gospels and Epistles which were a major influence in the development of Christian theology. For Newman's view of this saint, whom he greatly admired, see *H.S.*, ii., pp.217-302.

21. 1 **Augustine** St.Augustine of Hippo (354-430), Bishop and Doctor of the Church. His maxim 'Securus judicat orbis terrarum' had played a decisive role in Newman's

conversion (see *Apo.*, pp.184-5). For Newman's view of him, see *H.S.*, ii, pp.127-162. Amongst Augustine's many works was a Rule which was adopted by numerous religious orders, notably the canons regular and Augustinian friars.

**21.5 contemplative life. Cassian** Between 'life' and 'Cassian' there is a passage of two and a half pages of Neander's text (pp.85-8) which Newman has silently omitted. It begins 'Chrysostom had probably beheld in his native country many such advocates of idleness among the Euchites and Messalians, and he reproves them in his explanation of the following passage...' There follows a lengthy quotation from Chrysostom's *Hom. In John XXXI*. Neander then continues, 'In the greater monastic regulations ascribed to Basil it is written...', followed by a quotation from the *Regula, sive τα ασκητικά* c.37. Neander continues, 'In like manner Chrysostom describes the monks of the Egyptian deserts...', followed by a quotation from *Hom. In Matt.VIII*, at the end of which he resumes 'Cassian relates...' Newman's omissions do not distort Neander's meaning, and it is arguable that the lengthy quotation from Chrysostom is irrelevant since there is no evidence that Chrysostom either was basing it on his own observation of idle monks, as Neander speculates, or addressing it to them. It is surprising, however, that Newman does not indicate this omission from Neander's text at least by an ellipsis.

**21. 5 Cassian** St.John Cassian (c.360-c.435), founder of monasteries and author of two very influential works on the monastic life, the *Institutes* and the *Conferences*.

**21. 20 A monk on the Euphrates** Between 'monk' and 'on the Euphrates' Newman has omitted the words 'Thalasius, who resided near a village in the province of Cyrrhestica' (p.88).

**21. 21 the Euphrates** one of the two major rivers of Mesopotamia.



21. 27 **object which** Between 'object' and 'which' Newman has omitted the phrase 'pointed out in the passage above cited by us from the rules of Basil' (p.89).

21. 28 **monachism** the monastic life.

21. 33 **former** Between 'former' and the next paragraph, Newman has omitted a passage beginning, 'The following is a beautiful extract on this subject from Synesius...' followed by a lengthy quotation from *Dion. Ed. Petav.* p.45 (pp.89-90).

22. 1 **Basil** St.Basil the Great (c.330-379), Bishop and Doctor of the Church. A monk in the early part of his life, he is considered the father of Eastern monasticism. For Newman's view of him, see *H.S.*, ii, pp.3-74.

22. 3 **the monks. Those should** Between 'monks' and 'Those', Newman has omitted a colon, followed by the words 'that no general regulation can be made, because the trades must vary, according to the difference of countries, but'. It is unclear why he did this, and, again, an ellipsis might be expected here. However, Neander's sense is unaffected.

23. 2 **Theodoret** (c.393-c.466), bishop of Cyrrhus, played a prominent role in the Eutychian controversy. For Newman's view of him, see *H.S.*, ii., pp.307-362, where he had used the same quotation about Monk Peter (p.311).

22. 24 **every class. A weighty** Between 'class' and 'A weighty' Newman has omitted the words ' – by emperors, as well as by the meanest individuals – who desired to see the holy men, implored their blessing, and sought from them healing in sickness, consolation in misfortune, and spiritual advice.' (p.91)

22. 31 **other men. The children** Between ‘men’ and ‘The children’ Newman has omitted a passage of 20 lines of Neander’s text describing the visit by Theodoret’s mother to monk Peter who reproves her for her ‘many golden chains’ and ‘rich silken dress’. This admonition ‘produced in her an entire change of life.’ The passage concludes, ‘A religious education was imparted to education by the great influence, which respected monks obtained over mothers, who had frequently entreated their prayers, that sons might be born to them.’ (p.91) Again, Newman’s omission without ellipsis is surprising, though not distorting of Neander’s meaning. Newman had referred to this incident in his article on Theodoret (*H.S.*, loc.cit.).

23. 6 **his blessing.** Between ‘blessing’ and the next paragraph Newman has omitted ten lines beginning, ‘In speaking of Macedonius he also says ...’ (p.92). This may be because in it Macedonius says to the young Theodoret, ‘Before thy birth thou wert dedicated by a vow to God’ – thus perhaps raising a potentially controversial issue which would have been a distraction from Newman’s point.

23. 24 **Solomon’s Proverbs** the Book of Proverbs in the Bible, ascribed to Solomon though in fact a compilation of traditional wisdom.

24. 1-2 **an *ex parte* statement** a statement made by, or in the interests of, one side only in a dispute; a one-sided view.

24. 16 ***Audi alteram partem*** St. Augustine, *De Duabus Animabus*, xiv.22.

24. 20-1 **“Can any good come out of Nazareth?”** John 1:46a; Nathanael’s first reaction to hearing about Jesus, Nazareth being considered a remote and backward place.



24. 25-6 **“Come and see!”** John 1:46b. Philip’s reply to Nathanael who is then praised by Jesus for being ‘without guile’ and becomes one of the Apostles.

25. 3 **Christ being called Beelzebub** See Mark 3:22; the scribes accuse Jesus of being able to cast out devils through the power of the prince of devils; thus the classic example of good being ascribed to evil. Beelzebub means literally ‘lord of the flies’ and was originally a title of the god Baal.

25. 20 **Raffaelle** 19th century English spelling of Raphael (1483-1520), the Italian Renaissance artist.

25. 20 **the Apollo Belvidere** [*sic*] normal spelling Belvedere; celebrated statue of the god Apollo, now in the Vatican gallery.

25. 10-15 **the British Constitution . . . veneration** Newman took a somewhat more critical view later in his article ‘Who’s to Blame?’ at the time of the Crimean War (*D.A.*, pp.306-362).

25. 21 **the Newtonian theory** the theory of the laws of gravity discovered by Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727).

26. 3 **Blackstone** Sir William Blackstone's (1723-80) *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (4 vols., 1765-9), the much quoted standard authority on English law. The misuse of this by Newman’s imaginary anti-British Russian speaker in what follows is a satire on the similar way that Protestant polemicists selectively quoted from and misunderstood equivalent Catholic texts such as conciliar and papal decrees and other ecclesiastical

legislation.

26. 5 **farrago** an absurdly mixed up collection.

26. 9-10 **an account . . . a morning paper** The account is, of course, fictional. Newman accurately imitates the newspaper style of his day.

26. 11 **Moscow** Russia was an autocracy, and British ideas would therefore have been seen as dangerously democratic and subversive by the Czarist government. By choosing Russian ignorance of the real nature of the British legal and political system as a parallel to the Protestant attitude to Catholicism, Newman is able to ridicule Protestantism as similarly uninformed and bigoted. In the passage that follows 'John-Bullism' is thus Catholicism, and the anti-British Count is a typical anti-Catholic lecturer or preacher.

26. 24 **places** public squares.

26. 31 **the Potemkin family** descended from the famous Russian statesman, Gregori Potemkin (1739-91), lover and powerful adviser of Catherine the Great.

26. 33 **wars of the Caucasus** The Caucasus, lying between Russia and the lands of Georgia and Armenia, was the arena of Russian expansion in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to which there were two centres of resistance, Circassia in the West and Daghestan in the East. In 1840 there was a large-scale insurrection in Circassia; and during the 1830's there was a religious movement, Muridism, in Durghestan which became a holy war against the Russians. 'During the 1830's and 1840's, though Russia was at peace, her regular army was constantly engaged in fighting in the Caucasus. ... The role of the Caucasus for nineteenth century Russia is thus not unlike that of the Indian



Frontier for the British army.’ (H.Seton-Watson, *The Russian Empire 1801-1917*, Oxford, 1967).

27. 2 **his extraordinary gallantry** ironic; Newman implies he was extremely bloodthirsty.

27. 3 **Circassian tribes** See above Note on p.26. 33.

27. 6 **the British minister** the British Ambassador to Russia.

27. 8ff. **I transcribe it . . .** The Count's speech closely resembles in style the anti-Catholic speeches made at the time of the Papal Aggression crisis and particularly one published in pamphlet form, *A Lecture Delivered at the Guildhall, Bath, On Monday, Dec.2, 1850, on the recent Papal Aggression by the Rev.M.Herbert Seymour*, of which there is a copy among the various documents Newman used in the preparation of these lectures (under a front paper headed in Newman's handwriting ‘1851 Position of Catholics in England Preparatory Work’; *O.A.*, documents D5 16).

28. 6 **“Rule Britannia”** popular patriotic song; words by by James Thomson (1700-48), music by Thomas Arne (1710-1778).

28. 6 **“Rosbif,”** a French, abusive, term for the English. There is no song of this name, though there is a song in *The Grub Street Opera* by Henry Fielding (1707-54): ‘Oh! The roast beef of England, / And old England’s roast beef.’

28. 6. **“Poor Jack”** There does not appear to be a song of this name. If there were, it would be unlikely to be a gloriously patriotic one. ‘Poor Jack’ or ‘Poor John’ is an old term

for dried hake (fish). The name Jack in popular English sayings or proverbs, is usually the name of someone in inferior circumstances. For instance, 'Remember poor Jack' means 'Throw a copper to the boys paddling about the jetty or pier, or performing tricks under the hope of getting a small bounty.' (Brewer, E.C., *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 1894, on-line edition: <http://www.bibliomania.com/Reference/PhraseAndFable/data/669.html>).

28. 7 **the "Old English Gentleman"** the song 'The Fine Old English Gentleman' (Oxford Song Book).

28. 10 **kiss the hand** The Prime Minister 'kisses hands' with the Sovereign on his appointment.

28. 11 **walk backwards** part of the ceremony of the Opening of Parliament. This and the other ceremonial actions mentioned are formalities which do not in fact imply any great reverence towards the person of the monarch. Newman is satirising the outrage which anti-Catholic speakers expressed at similar Catholic rituals, such as kissing the Pope's foot, which they accused of being idolatrous.

28. 20 **a Scotch firm** A number of Scotsmen worked in Russia, often on engineering projects, in a tradition going back to Tsar Peter the Great who had invited men such as Patrick Gordon (1635-99) to assist in his programme of modernisation.

28. 32 **Antichrist . . . predicted in Scripture** e.g. 1 John 2:18.

29. 9 **a book** An anti-Catholic parallel to this would be the use made by Protestant polemicists of Canon Law, for instance in *A Lecture on Popery delivered by the Rev.Dr.Cooke at Belfast on Tuesday, Dec.3rd, 1850*, another of the pamphlets to be found



among Newman's batch of *PrePos* papers, *O.A.*, D5.16.

30. 3 **'The King can do no wrong'** This quotation from Blackstone (*Commentaries on the Laws of England*, vol.iii, ch.xvii, p.244) and the other apparently outrageous extracts are of course statements of the role of the Crown in jurisprudence and not, as the Count thinks, claims to moral perfection on the part of the individual monarch. However, Newman is also drawing an implicit analogy with the Pope's infallibility when defining matters of faith or morals, frequently misunderstood by Protestants as a claim to personal impeccability. See Newman's Note I, *Prepos.* pp.406-7, for his response to claims that this was not a fair analogy. See also *G.A.*, p.67: 'the constitutional formula, 'The king can do no wrong', is not a fact, or a cause of the Constitution, but a happy mode of bringing out its genius, of determining the correlations of its elements, and of grouping or regulating political rules or proceedings in a particular direction and in a particular form.'

30. 20 **'The law ascribes . . . ABSOLUTE PERFECTION;** Blackstone, *op cit.*, p.246.

31 7 **a foreign potentate** a typical anti-Catholic epithet of the Pope; Newman's application of it to Queen Victoria reveals its absurd exaggeration, a potentate being a powerful; absolute ruler, usually Oriental.

31. 15-18 **'The King, moreover . . . or WEAKNESS!!!'** *ibid.*, vol.i, p.246.

32 18 **grace** The Count takes the word 'grace' out of its legal context and assumes that it has its theological meaning. His assumption that he understands the meaning of this technical term mirrors similar misunderstandings by anti-Catholic polemicists of Catholic theological terminology, as Newman will go on to illustrate in Lecture VIII, *Prepos.*, pp.342ff.

33. 6 **Sir Edward Coke** (1552-1634) Lord Chief Justice, champion of the Common Law and the power of Parliament against the Crown; much admired in the 19th century. His *Institutes of the Laws of England* appeared in four parts from 1628 to 1644.

33. 23-4 “Some have not . . . the OMNIPOTENCE of Parliament!” Blackstone, op.cit, vol.i, p.161. Newman explains his point below, *Prepos*, p.343-4. In the legal sense, of course, Parliament is all-powerful. There is no appeal from Parliament as the highest court in the land (or was until the United Kingdom came under the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice which would perhaps now similarly be legally regarded as ‘omnipotent’). Again, Newman is making an implicit analogy with Rome as the Catholic Church’s final court of appeal.

34. 5-6 ‘cannot even think wrong’ *ibid*, p.246.

34. 7 ‘fount of justice’ *ibid*, p.266.

34. 8-9 ‘. . . above the law’ *ibid*, pp.163-4

34. 17 **Bracton** Henry de Bracton (d.1268), the foremost medieval English jurist, author of *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae* (written between 1235 and 1259; first complete edition published 1569). The use by the Count of a single sentence from a medieval writer as evidence of the outrageous claims of ‘John Bullism’ parallels the use of similar quotations by anti-Catholic writers on the papacy such as Rev.Cooke (see above) quoted below.

34. 19-20 ‘Vicarius Dei in terrâ,’ Blackstone, op.cit., p.241.



34. 19-20 **‘the Vicar of God on earth’** The Rev.Cooke had been similarly shocked to find statements which seemed to claim divinity for the Pope:

And now I charge the Romish system as being Anti-Christ because the Pope takes the very name of God ...In the extravagances of John the 22nd, he is styled “*Dominum Deum nostrum*” - “our Lord god the Pope.” Then, another bishop is said and believed to have called him “another God on earth,” ... Now, we are certain that the following words are used in the decretals of Pope Innocent II, ‘That the Pope holds on earth the place of God almighty, or in other words that he is a God.’ ... Then there is another statement in the works of a very learned jurisconsult, an authority of great celebrity in the Romish Church, Philip Decius, who says, “All the acts of the Pope must be considered as the acts of God;” and again, “What is done by the Pope is considered as done by God, because he (the Pope) bears on earth the rank not of a sinless man, but of a God;” and lastly, “The Pope can do all things that God can do.” Is not that a substitution of the name of the Pope for the name of God? Is not that the Pope standing in the place of God? (op.cit. p.30).

For Newman’s discussion of this topic in ‘The Protestant Idea of Antichrist’, *Ess.*, ii., see above, Introduction, p.39ff.

34. 23-6 **Queen Elizabeth . . . *unmake you!***” These words have not proved traceable, but they are in character for Elizabeth I (1558-1603), though she would not, of course, have been claiming that she could ‘create’ as God does but only that she appointed bishops of the Church of England and could dismiss them.

34. 26-30 **James the First . . . height of his power!**” What James actually said was much more nuanced:

I conclude then this point touching the power of kings with this axiom of Divinity,

that as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, but *quid vult Deus*, that divines may lawfully and do ordinarily dispute and discuss, for to dispute *a posse ad esse* is both against logic and divinity; so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power, but just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the curse of God. I will not be content that my power be disputed upon, but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my laws. (James I, *Works* (London, 1616), p.531. The passage is quoted in Blackstone, op.cit., p.238, where Newman found it.)

34. 32 **my Lord Clarendon** The then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was George Villiers, the fourth Earl of Clarendon (1600-1670); the Count is confusing him with Edward Hyde, the first Earl of Clarendon (1609-74), chief minister to Charles II and author of *The True Historical Narrative of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (published posthumously 1702-4).

35. 2 **called himself a god** a reference to the speech by James to Parliament cited above which contains the passage:

Kings are justly called gods for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of divine power on earth, for if you will consider the attributes to God you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake, at his pleasure; to give life or send death, to judge all and to be judged not accountable to none; to raise low things and to make high things low at his pleasure; and to God are both soul and body due. And the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising and casting down; of life, and of death, judges over all their subjects, and in all causes, and yet accountable to none but God only. They have power to exalt low things, and abase



high things, and make of their subjects like men at the chess – a pawn to take a bishop or a knight – and cry up or down any of their subjects, as they do their money. And to the king is due both the affection of the soul and the service of the body of all his subjects. (James I, op.cit., p.529-30.)

**35. 4 the ‘Constitutions of Clarendon’** nothing to do with any Earl of Clarendon! A series of laws enacted at a council summoned in 1164 by Henry II to check the power of the clergy as part of his dispute with Thomas à Beckett. The Count now confuses James I with Henry II.

**35. 7 Lord Bacon** Francis Bacon (1561-1626), first Baron Verulam and Viscount of St.Albans; politician, writer and philosopher, Chancellor under James I. The phrase ‘Deaster quidam’ has not proved traceable. However, it is clear that the Count has misunderstood it. The suffix ‘aster’ added to a noun gives it a pejorative sense, so that although the words do mean ‘some sort of little god’, the sense is sneering or sarcastic, implying that the person to whom it is applied has got above himself, behaving like a ‘godlet.’

**35. 9 Alexander Pope** (1688-1744), poet and satirist. In *The Rape of the Lock* (1712, 1714), the heroine, Belinda, is referred to, in mock-heroic style, as a ‘Goddess’ (Canto I, l.7; Canto IV, l. 79). Pope later published, pseudonymously, a *Key to the Lock* (1715) which claimed that the whole poem was a covert satire on Queen Anne. This is presumably the source of the Count’s confusion. The poem’s actual reference to Queen Anne is somewhat more prosaic in its depiction of her at Hampton Court: ‘Here thou, great ANNA! Whom three realms obey, / Dost sometimes counsel take – and sometimes Tea.’ (Canto III, ll.7-8).

35. 10 **Addison, with a servility. . . Britannia's isle adores.'** Joseph Addison (1672-1719), poet, dramatist and essayist. The phrase is from his poem *A Letter from Italy, to The Right Honourable Charles Lord Halifax in the Year MDCCI* (1703), l.127. The 'goddess' being addressed is not Queen Anne but 'Liberty' personified.

35. 14-15 **represented on her coins** The picture of Britannia on the old British penny (and the modern 50p piece, though now without the trident) was not, of course, a representation of Victoria.

35. 25-26 **666, which is the mystical emblem of the lawless king!!!** Ridiculously ingenious as Newman's numerology is here, it is no more so than the numerology to be found in the *Penny Protestant Operative*, published by the Protestant Association in the 1840s, which had a regular page devoted to showing that the various names and titles of popes all add up to the number 666 (see D.G.Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, Stanford 1992, p.111).

35. 32 **Hallam** Henry Hallam (1777-1859), historian; the quotations here are from his *Constitutional History of England from Henry VII's Accession to the Death of George II* (1827) vol.iii, p.261 and vol.ii. p.575. His other major work was *A View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages* (1818) which Newman quotes later (*Prepos.*, p.98). He was also commissioner of stamps, treasurer of the Statistical Society, vice-president of the Society for Antiquities and an occasional contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*, all of which makes the Count's description of him as 'ultra-bullist' particularly absurd. His son Arthur was the subject of Tennyson's 'In Memoriam' (1850).

36. 6 **'the disgrace and remorse of perjury'** Hallam is in fact referring to the crisis of the 'nonjurors', those clergy who refused in 1689 to take the oath of allegiance to William



and Mary on the grounds that they had previously sworn allegiance to the now deposed James II and that they were now therefore being forced to commit perjury.

**36. 8-9 Richard the First boasted . . . his family** Richard I (1157-1199) had various disputes with his father, Henry II (1133-89) and other members of his family, especially his brother John (1167-1216); the remark (whatever its provenance) is thus likely to have been an exclamation of despair rather than a boast.

**36. 9ff. Of Henry the Second St.Bernard said . . .** St.Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) is very unlikely to have said anything about Henry II who did not become King until after Bernard's death. The remark may be about Henry of Lausanne (d.1145) whose teaching Bernard attacked as heretical.

**36. 11-13 William the Second . . . one of his forests** William II (d.1100) was shot while hunting in the New Forest; William Tirel (fl.1100) was accused of having fired the fatal arrow but denied doing so. He was very unpopular on account of his cruelty, and his body was refused religious rites by the clergy of Winchester where he was buried.

**36. 13-14 Henry the First died of eating lampreys** This story of how Henry I (1068-1135) 'took a surfeit by eating of a lamprey, and thereof died' appears in the chronicler Robert Fabian (d.1513) (*New Chronicles*, pt.i, xli) who attributes the information to Ranulphe Higden (d.1364). Higden's *Polychronicon* (VII, vvii) in fact does not attribute Henry's death to any direct cause, and the story may be based on a mistranslation. The way that the story has become proverbial, implying that Henry's greed caused his death while in fact having no historical basis, is thus a parallel to the kind of anti-Catholic 'fable' which Newman will show to be common in Protestant tradition as he will demonstrate in Lecture III.

**36. 14 John died of eating peaches** King John (see above Note on p.36. 8-9), a much detested monarch, is thought to have been poisoned. However, it would of course be far more significant to mention other features of his tumultuous reign, notably his signing Magna Carta.

**36. 15-16 Clarence . . . malmsey wine** George, Duke of Clarence (1449-78) was executed for treason; the account of his being 'put to death and drowned in a barrel of Malmsey wine' is to be found in Fabyan (op.cit. vol.II). Historians consider that the story may only be based on rumour. The Count is once again giving as historical fact things which are in reality only traditional anecdotes.

**36. 16-18 Richard the Third . . . friends** Richard III (1452-85) is thought to have been responsible for the murder of Henry VI ('his Sovereign') in the Tower of London and of Edward, Prince of Wales ('his Sovereign's son') after the Battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. He may have helped indirectly to bring about the death of one of his brothers, Clarence, in 1478. He did not murder his wife, Anne, Edward's widow. His two nephews were the Princes, Edward V and Richard, Duke of York, for whose deaths in the Tower he has generally been held to be responsible in 1483. 'Half a dozen of his friends' is a reasonable description of the number of others whom Richard had executed.

**36. 18-20 Henry the Eighth . . . six hundred women** This wonderfully confused reference to Henry VIII's (1491-1547) six wives makes a fitting climax to the garbled list of English monarchs' crimes and misfortunes. This indiscriminate mixing of fact, triviality and downright error imitates the similar lists of alleged Papal crimes to be found in anti-Catholic pamphlets.



36. 21 **the 'Edinburgh Review'** a magazine published from 1802 onwards; it was Whig in its political outlook.

36. 21 **Hollinshed** Raphael Holinshed (d.1580), translator and historian. His *Historie of England* (1578) was much used by Shakespeare for his History plays. There does not appear to be an article on this subject in *The Edinburgh Review*.

36. 23 **Sir John Fortescue** (1394-1476), a principal judge in the reign of Henry VI and the first English constitutional lawyer; author of *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ* (first printed 1537) and *On the Governance of the Kingdom of England* (first published 1714).

36. 27 **Queen Elizabeth** See above Note on p.34. 23-6.

36. 26-30 **Four hundred persons . . . in London alone** These figures, whether or not they are accurate, could presumably be paralleled in other countries, particularly Russia. Newman is making the point how easy it is to make out a case even against a country such as England which prides itself on the development of its legal system. Similarly, Protestant polemicists listed figures for Catholic persecution while ignoring Protestant persecution, the 'logical inconsistency' which Newman attacks in Lecture V.

36. 32-3 **Blackstone, who notices the burning of a girl** Blackstone, op.cit., vol.i, p.465.

37. 1 **Sir Matthew Hale** (1609-76), judge, author of various legal and other works and later Lord Chief Justice. In 1662 he presided at the conviction of two women for witchcraft (for which the punishment was burning). The point about this reference is that Blackstone refers to *an* instance of a girl of thirteen being burnt according to Hale, but the Count turns this into a 'favourite punishment', as if it were common. In Lecture III (pp.94-

6), Newman gives a parallel example of an anti-Catholic accusation of monastic wickedness being based on one cited example (which then proves impossible to verify).

**37. 1-4 valets . . . death** These are incidents drawn from melodramas and popular fiction.

**37. 7-8 Husbands sell their wives** The novelist Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) was to make use of such a story (though without the rope round the neck) in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, and when challenged as to its likelihood said that he had found three accounts of ‘wife-sales’ in newspapers from 1826-1829 (see Hardy, T., *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, ed.F.B.Pinion, (Macmillan, 1975), Introduction, p.15). Making the Count refer to such an outrageous happening thus allows Newman to make two points simultaneously. On the one hand, the Count is again giving the impression that these are a regular occurrence, so that Newman is parodying the way that Protestant polemicists quoted similarly scandalous stories among Catholics as if they were typical occurrences. On the other hand, since Newman is quoting real examples, he is demonstrating that such scandalous events have taken place in recent times in England, and so the English can be genuinely accused of such things as much as any Catholic country could of similar scandals. It thus also functions as a ‘tu quoque’ argument.

**37.9 M.Pellet** This ‘intelligent Frenchman’ has defied identification.

**37. 11 sculls** These are of course rowing *sculls*, not anatomical *skulls*. See Appendix 2: Newman’s Preparatory Notes (D.5.16) [*Side 1*]: ‘sculls for scullers’.

**37. 15 Rush** James Blomfield Rush (d.1849) murderer of Isaac Jermy (1789-1848) who inherited the estate on which Rush was a tenant.



**37. 15 Thistlewood** Arthur Thistlewood (1770-1820), one of the Cato Street conspirators who planned to assassinate Cabinet ministers while they were dining at Lord Harrowby's house in Grosvenor Square, London, in 1820. He was convicted of high treason and hanged.

**37. 15 Thurtell** John Thurtell (1794-1824), hanged for murder.

**37. 15 the Mannings** Frederick George Manning (d.1849), a publican, and his wife Marie Manning (1821-1849), both hanged for murder.

**37. 15-16 Colonel Kirk** Piercy Kirke (1682-91), soldier; notorious for his cruelty towards the rebels at the Battle of Sedgmoor (1685).

**37. 16 Claverhouse** John Graham of Claverhouse, first Viscount Dundee (1649-89), was a powerful and oppressive figure in Scotland during the reigns of Charles II and James II; he appears in Scott's novel *Old Mortality* (1816).

**37. 16 Simon de Monteforte** (1208-1265), earl of Leicester; powerful baron who opposed Henry III; accused of oppression and violence but acquitted. Later he forced the king to call a Parliament; died at the battle of Evesham.

**37. 16 Strafford** Sir Thomas Wentforth, 1st Earl of Strafford (1593-1641), was chief minister to Charles I, frequently urging him to adopt more extreme measures against his opponents. He earned the epithet 'Black Tom Tyrant' for his recommendation that Irish troops be used to enforce tax collection and to crush English and Scots rebels; he was hated by Parliament which forced Charles to agree to his execution.

**37. 17 the Duke of Cumberland** William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1726-65), second son of George II; nicknamed 'the Butcher' after his defeat of the Scots at Culloden and subsequent oppression in Scotland. He appears in Scott's novel *Waverley* (1814).

**37. 17 Warren Hastings** (1732-1818), first Governor-General of India. He was tried for corruption and cruelty in a celebrated case but eventually acquitted, after a very lengthy trial, in 1795.

**37. 18 Judge Jeffreys** George Jeffreys (1644-89), a judge with a brutal reputation, mainly due to the 'Bloody Assizes' in which he condemned to death many followers of the Monmouth rebellion in 1685.

**37. 20 *semper idem*** 'always the same'.

**37. 21 One hundred and sixty offences are punishable with death** Blackstone, op.cit. vol.iv, p.18. An article in the *Dublin Review* (March & June 1850, Vol.XXVII), which Newman later cites in Lecture V (see below Note on p.211. fn.3), also refers to Blackstone's listing of the many offences which carried the death penalty (p.439), though it gives the number of capital offences as one hundred and fifty-four. It seems highly likely that this article is the source of Newman's identical argument here. Although Newman does not mention Blackstone here, the second surviving sheet of his preparatory papers (see above, Introduction, p.24) contains page references to Blackstone for three of the offences mentioned. However, the other three for which he has no reference in this preparatory paper are mentioned, with citations from Blackstone, in the *Dublin Review* article. It looks as if the *Dublin Review* gave him the idea for this passage, but he then did further research in Blackstone for himself.



**37. 22 death to live with gipsies** Blackstone, iv, p.166 [preparatory paper reference].

**37. 25 death to steal a sheep** [no preparatory paper reference, but the *Dublin Review* article refers to 'sheep-stealing', citing Blackstone, iv, 239]

**37. 25 warren** a technical term for an area of land which has been enclosed and preserved for breeding game [no preparatory paper reference, but the *Dublin Review* article refers to 'poaching, or stealing rabbits, fish or other game', citing Blackstone, iv, 235, 144.].

**37. 25-6 death to steal a letter** [no preparatory paper reference, but the *Dublin Review* article refers to 'stealing a letter from the post-office', citing Blackstone, iv, 235]

**37. 26 death to steal a handkerchief** *ibid.*, p.16 [preparatory paper reference].

**37. 26-7 death to cut down a cherry tree** *ibid.*, p.4 [preparatory paper reference].

**38. 1-4 The Crusades . . . the French Revolution** British involvement in these events ranged from major to non-existent. Newman is again satirising the list of crimes and wars for which Protestant polemicists held the Catholic Church responsible, while at the same time showing that a case can be made against Britain's at times aggressive foreign policy. The Russian Count's knowledge of history shows the same kind of confused mixing of fact and fiction as that found in popular anti-Catholic tracts.

**38. 1 The Crusades** There were seven principal crusades between 1096 and 1270; the third was jointly led by King Richard I (the Lionheart) of England and the Holy Roman emperor, Frederick I, and the French king, Philip II.

**38. 1 the Sicilian Vespers** a massacre of French people in Sicily in 1282 by the local inhabitants, the signal for which was the ringing of the church bells for Vespers. England had no involvement whatsoever.

**38. 1-2 the wars of the Reformation** These Catholic-Protestant conflicts in the 16th century were confined to continental Europe and had no direct English involvement.

**38. 2 the Thirty Years War** further Catholic-Protestant conflicts in the German states and beyond, lasting from 1618 to 1648, again without direct English involvement.

**38. 2-3 the War of Succession** refers either to: (i) the War of Spanish Succession (1701-13) in which Britain was in alliance with the Habsburgs of Austria against France in the struggle for the Spanish throne, the Battle of Blenheim being a notable British victory under the generalship of John Churchill; or (ii) the War of Austrian Succession (1740-48) in which Britain supported Maria Theresa of Austria against Prussian aggression; this saw the last appearance on the battlefield of a reigning British monarch, George II at Dettingen in 1743.

**38. 3 the seven years' war** was a renewal of the above conflict between Austria and Prussia, from 1756 to 1763, in which Britain this time entered into a military alliance with Prussia in order to keep the French occupied in Europe while Britain furthered the building of her empire in India and North America. This could indeed be seen as 'John-Bullism', Britain's involvement in the war being part of her policy of imperialist expansion.

**38. 3 the American war of Independence (1776-83).**

**38. 4 the French Revolution** Although Britain was at war with the young French



Republic and later with Napoleon, it is of course historical nonsense to claim that the Revolution itself was caused by 'John-Bull ideas'.

**38. 6 the last war** The Napoleonic Wars which ended with the French defeat by Britain and Prussia at Waterloo in 1815. Two million is a reasonable estimate of the total number of deaths, though this would include Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia 1811-1812.

**38. 7 the Whigs** The Whig Party in Parliament, under the leadership of Charles James Fox (1749-1806), did indeed criticise some aspects of the Tory government's conduct of war against Napoleon. Whigs, especially in the earlier stages, were mildly favourable towards the French Revolution. The claim that the Whigs 'down to this day' blame Britain entirely for the Napoleonic Wars is an absurdity. However, the Count could also be making a confused reference to *The History of John Bull* (1712), a series of pamphlets by John Arbuthnot (1667-1735) which advocated the ending of Britain's war against France in the War of Spanish Succession (see above). In these the character of John Bull first appears, invented by Arbuthnot as an allegorical figure for England. Arbuthnot, however, was not a Whig but a Tory.

**38. 16-17 Jezebel . . . the prophetic vision** In the Bible Jezebel was the pagan wife of King Ahab. She promoted the worship of Baal and was denounced by the prophet Elijah (1 Kings 16:31 - 21:25). The name also appears in the Book of Revelation, referring to a prophetess in the Church of Thyatira who is denounced by the writer for leading for its members astray (Rev 2:20). Since the time of the Reformation the name had been used by Protestant controversialists as a term of abuse for the Catholic Church.

**38. 18-20 a prophet of her own ... the mystical sorceress** In 1839 the Rev. Hugh McNeile, a leading figure in anti-Catholic agitation, gave a speech in which he exclaimed,

‘What peace so long as that woman Jezebel lives?’ He meant this as a reference to the Catholic Church but was widely misunderstood to have meant Queen Victoria and was thus accused of inciting his audience to assassinate the Queen (see Wolffe, *op.cit.*, p.166).

39. 5-7 ‘A consequence of . . . UBIQUITY OF THE KING!’ Blackstone, *op.cit.*, vol.i, p.270.

39. 25-27 ‘In the law . . . THE KING NEVER DIES.’ *ibid*, vol. i, ch.vii, p.249. Public prosecutions are done in the name of the king (such cases appear as ‘Rex vs Smith’). As a legal entity, the king, therefore, cannot be considered to die, or such a case would lapse of the death of the current monarch. The Count’s taking of this legal fiction literally shows his inability to distinguish between the king and his office. Protestant controversialists similarly failed to distinguish between the pope, a fallible, sinful human being, and his office, the organ of the Church’s infallibility.

40. 16 **sophisms** statements of superficially clever but false reasoning. The legal maxims which follow are all to be found in Blackstone and are, of course, of no sinister significance whatever. On the face on it, however, they may appear to state startling or even immoral principles. Their real meaning is only apparent to someone who knows their legal context and application. Similarly, statements found in Catholic manuals of ethics were frequently given sinister interpretations by Protestant polemicists. This is to be an important element in Newman’s analysis of anti-Catholic prejudice when he discusses Protestant misunderstanding of Catholic theological statements in Lecture VIII.

40. 16-17 ‘**De minimis non curat lex**’ lit. ‘The law does not concern itself with the smallest things’; for instance, a dispute may be deemed to be over such a trivial matter that the law declines to be involved in it.



40. 17 **‘Malitia supplet ætatem’** lit. ‘Malice supplies the age’ i.e. of criminal responsibility. Children below the age of 10 cannot be guilty of an offence; but those between the ages of 10 and 14 may be held to be so capable if there is evidence of ‘mischievous discretion’ or guilty knowledge that they were doing wrong. Thus their malice supplies their ‘age’ of responsibility.

40. 17-18 **‘Tres faciunt collegium’** lit. ‘Three make a company.’ The eminent Roman jurist Neratius Priscus laid it down that three is the minimum number of people who can constitute a ‘collegium’ or company. However, the Russian Count Count has completely missed the point which is that in English law three persons are *not* needed to make a company. Blackstone says, ‘our laws have considerably refined and improved upon the invention [*i.e. corporations*], according to the usual genius of the English nation: particularly with regard to sole corporations, consisting of one person only, of which the Roman lawyers had no notion; their maxim being that “*tres faciunt collegium*”’ (ibid., ch.18).

40. 18 **‘Impotentia excusat legem’** lit. ‘Impotency excuses law’. Impossibility of performance is a valid reason for failing to fulfil an obligation imposed by law.

40. 19 **‘Possession is nine parts of the law’** Possession (of e.g. land) is good against all the world except the true owner. However, possession can ripen into ownership by the passage of time; for example, ‘adverse possession of land’ (i.e. without the owner’s agreement) for twelve years destroys the title of the owner and vests it in the possessor. Also, the holder of a negotiable instrument (such as a cheque), a factor, or a seller in an open market can give a better title than he actually has, provided the buyer takes in good faith and for value (i.e. he pays money in the belief that the seller owns them). The true

owner cannot then dispute the buyer's title to the good (unless the thief has been convicted) and so the seller's possession of the goods (and later the buyer's possession) has been decisive. Hence the maxim.

40. 19-20 **'The greater the truth, the greater the libel'** Just because a statement is true, that does not necessarily stop it also being judged libellous; the person who published the true statement also has to prove that it was fair comment in the public interest as well. If it is not fair comment, then it may be judged that the statement, even though true, should not have been published; and further that since it *is* true, the damage to the libelled person is all the greater because something true has been published about him which should not have been published, and so he has been damaged even more than if the published statement were false. See also *Apo*, p.249:

'In our own time, men have been imprisoned and fined for saying true things of a bad king. The maxim has been held that, "The greater the truth, the greater the libel." And so as to the judgment of society, a just indignation would be felt against a writer who brought forward wantonly the weaknesses of a great man, though the whole world knew they existed. No one is at liberty to speak ill of another without a justifiable reason, even though he knows he is speaking truth, and the public knows it too.'

40. 22 **blighting superstitions** What follow are further legal technical terms, without, of course, any sinister significance. Newman's irony here once again works in two ways. First, it is absurd that the Count ignorantly finds the words sinister, perhaps because of the odd sound of some of them, just as anti-Catholic polemicists quoted technical vocabulary from Catholic works without understanding what they really mean. However, some of the legal principles (such as primogeniture) would certainly not be accepted by the legal systems of other countries. So while creating humour at the Count's naïve horror at



harmless technicalities, Newman is also implicitly showing that other nationalities may legitimately view as unacceptable what English people assume to be unalterable principles.

40. 23 **primogeniture** the law of inheritance by the eldest son.

40. 23 **gavelkind** a law of inheritance in which the property of a man who died intestate was divided equally among all his sons.

40. 23 **mortmain** in mediaeval times, land which was held by the Church or other bodies (sometimes given to the Church as a means of feudal tax avoidance).

40. 23-4 **contingent remainders** part of an estate, left over from the principal inheritance, which will only be passed on in the event of some particular circumstances coming into force.

40. 25-6 ***habeas corpus*** lit. 'you are to produce the body'. The famous legal principle by which nobody may be imprisoned indefinitely without trial; first enshrined in Magna Carta, it has always been regarded as one of the cornerstones of English liberty.

40. 26 ***quare impedit*** lit. 'wherefore he hinders'. A writ issued on behalf of the lay patron of a benefice in the Church of England if the bishop refused to institute as parish priest the person whom the patron had appointed.

40. 26 ***qui tam*** lit. 'who as well'; an action brought by an informer under a penal statute to recover a penalty of which the whole or part went to him. Thus he sued 'on behalf of our Lord the King as well as for himself.' The irony here is that this really was objectionable in the way that it was used against Catholics in penal times, giving a

financial incentive to professional Catholic-hunters ('pursuivants'). Arguably, this was a legal provision which really could be described as 'perfidious'.

40. 27 **mummeries** originally mediaeval popular dramas. At the time of the Reformation, government-funded 'mummers' were sent round England to perform mockeries of Catholic ritual as anti-Catholic propaganda. The word later became the standard Protestant term of abuse for the ceremonies of the Catholic liturgy. Lord John Russell had referred to 'the mummeries of superstition' in his Letter to the Bishop of Durham (see Introduction pp.12ff). By applying the term to oddities of the English legal system, Newman is able to imply how the rituals of one tradition appear as meaningless or sinister actions to another. He will illustrate this with a real-life Protestant misinterpretation of Catholic ritual in Lecture VI.

40. 27-8 **wigs, and bands, coifs and ermine** items variously worn by barristers and judges in English courts. A *coif* was a medieval legal headdress worn by Serjeants-at-Law, an order of senior advocates, later abolished. Newman's close friend Edward Bellasis (1800-73) was a Serjeant-at-Law and may have been the source of some of the legal knowledge displayed here. Newman consulted him over the Achilli affair.

40. 29-31 **fee simple . . . feuds** more legal terms, many of them obsolete.

40. 29 **fee simple** an estate free from any conditions restricting its inheritance.

40. 29 **fee tail** an estate which can only be inherited by a particular person and his legal heirs.

40. 30 **villanage** in feudal times, the holding of land by villeins (peasants) who had to



perform menial tasks for their feudal lord as a condition of their tenure.

40. 30 **free soccage** similar to the above, the tenure of land dependent on the performance of certain duties.

40. 30 **fiefs** In feudal times, fief was the tenure of land on the condition of military service. Like *heriot*, *seizin* and *feuds*, this word usually only occurs in the singular; the Russian Count's use of the plural shows that he does not understand these terms.

40. 30 **heriots** in feudal times, the right of the lord of a manor to the best parts of the property of certain of his tenants on their death.

40. 30 **seizins** the freehold possession of property.

40. 31 **feuds** estate or land held on condition of feudal service.

40. 32 **premiums** a reward, often the profits paid out by a company on the **shares** it has sold in its business.

40. 32 **post-obits** loans made on the expectations which the borrower has of inheriting money or property on the death of his parents or other benefactor.

40. 33 **broad and narrow gauge** For some years there was a 'battle of the gauges' between the narrow railway gauge originally used by George Stephenson and the broad gauge used by I.K.Brunel on the Great Western Railway. The narrow gauge was ultimately victorious and is the one used in Britain today. This climactic peroration to the Count's speech is close in style to Seymour's lecture (see above Note on p.27. 8ff.) which

also has the reaction of the audience in parentheses (*Hear!*) and (*Tremendous applause*), as was the standard practice of the time in accounts of public meetings (and is still used in *Hansard*, the report of proceedings in Parliament). Newman's juxtaposition of these enthusiastic reactions and the absurd misunderstandings in the Count's speech effectively satirises the excited atmosphere of anti-Catholic meetings.

41. 9-12 **an effigy of John Bull ... and a Queen Victoria** Effigies of the Pope and of Cardinal Wiseman were frequently burned during the anti-Catholic demonstrations of 1850-1.

41. 7-8 **the great square before the Kremlin** Red Square at the foot of the eastern walls of the Kremlin, the fortified enclosure of palaces and cathedrals which is the seat of the Russian government.

43. 8 **the recluse and the devotee** monks and nuns, especially of 'enclosed' orders who had no contact with the outside world.

43. 21-2 **They drop a thousand years from the world's chronicle** According to the commonly received Protestant version of history, Christianity had become corrupted by 'Romish' ideas by about the year 500 and was only returned to its original purity by the Reformation of the 16th century.

44. 5 **wivern and griffin** See above Notes on p.10. 7.

44. 9 **a camera obscura** a device which throws an image of external objects onto a white screen in a darkened room; a popular novelty in Victorian times.



44. 20 **Tartars or Patagonians** the inhabitants respectively of Central Asia and the southernmost part of South America, i.e. distant savages, as far as Newman's audience were concerned.

45. 6-7 **he should be inspecting . . . of East and West** 1851 was the year of the Great Exhibition held in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, London, designed to show off the finest produce of the British Empire.

46. 4 **the Catholic Relief Bill** The Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1792 removed some of the legal restrictions on Catholics.

46. 6 **Lord Eldon** John Scott (1751-1838), first earl of Eldon, statesman; Lord Chancellor under Pitt and Portland and leader for many years of the 'Ultras' in the Tory party.

46. 6 **George the Third; and there was Mr.Pitt obliged to give up office** King George III (1760-1820) was horrified at the proposal of his Prime Minister, William Pitt (1759-1806), that the Catholics of Ireland should be granted religious toleration as part of his plan to unite Ireland with England in the Act of Union. The King claimed that it would violate his coronation oath to uphold the Protestant religion. Pitt had committed himself to Catholic emancipation to placate Irish popular opinion, and now faced with the King's implacable opposition he felt obliged to resign in 1801.

46. 7-8 **Lord George Gordon** The Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1778 was the first step in the repeal of the penal laws and gave some legal rights to Catholics on condition that they took an oath of loyalty to the Crown. However, it provoked a violent anti-Catholic reaction, led by the Protestant demagogue Lord George Gordon. This culminated in the

bloody Gordon Riots in London in 1780 which were only put down by the use of the military and resulted in many deaths, vividly described by Dickens in *Barnaby Rudge* (1841).

46. 28-9 **Life is not long enough for proving everything** See 'The Tamworth Reading Room', *D.A.*, p.295: 'Life is not long enough for a religion of inferences; we shall never have done beginning, if we determine to begin with proof.'

47. 11 *prima-facie* 'at first view'.

47. 24 **Tallis** Thomas Tallis (c.1505-85), composer. The author of the 'Protestant Hundredth Psalm tune' (best known to English congregations as 'All people that on earth do dwell') is unknown; most hymn books give its source as the Genevan Psalter, c.1551.

47. 26 **Bishop Butler of Durham** Joseph Butler (1692-1752). His *Analogy of Religion*, which defends revealed religion against the Deists, was an important influence on Newman (see *Apo*, pp.102-3).

48. 8-9 **Bishop Ken** Thomas Ken (1637-1711), bishop and religious writer and poet, author of the hymn 'Glory to Thee, my God, this night'; one of the 'non-jurors' (see Note on p.181. 22-3).

48. 9 **Mr.Evelyn** John Evelyn (1620-1706), writer and diarist.

51. 11-2 **a teaching, professing . . . of their forefathers** i.e. the teaching of the Pharisees.



51. 13 **“the tradition of the ancients;”** Matthew 15:2.

51. 14-15 **the “commandments of men”** Matthew 15:9.

51. 24 **The stream cannot . . . its source** proverbial.

51. 30-2 **“In vain . . . of men.”** Matthew 15:9 (quoting Is 29:13).

55. 16ff **Catholicism has often been established . . .** Newman’s approach here indicates his underlying dislike of the establishment of Catholicism or of any church. Visiting Rome as an Anglican in March 1833, he had commented on the ‘timidity, indolence, and that secular spirit which creeps on established religion everywhere’ (*L.D.* iii, p.232). He did not fundamentally change his attitude as a Catholic. In a correspondence in 1860 with T.W.Allies (1813-1903), an Oxford convert to Catholicism who later lectured at Newman’s university in Dublin, Newman closely echoed the views expressed here (see *L.D.* xix, pp.421-3, 432, 473). Hence his radical (and controversial) attitude towards the Pope’s loss of the Temporal Power in his sermon ‘The Pope and the Revolution’ (*O.S.*, pp.281ff.), where he remarked that ‘At the end of three centuries Protestant England contains more Catholics who are loyal and energetic in word and deed, than Catholic Italy’ (*ibid.*, p.315).

58 10ff **Foreign politics excite us very little . . .** For Newman’s further more extended consideration of English attitudes towards foreign affairs see his series of letters on the Crimean War, ‘Who’s to Blame?’, published in 1854 (*D.A.* pp.306ff.).

58. 12 **protocols** diplomatic agreements with other nations.

59. 1-2 **an *argumentum ad hominem*** ‘an argument or appeal founded on the preferences or principles of a particular person rather than on abstract truth or logical cogency’ (*O.E.D.*). Newman is saying that Protestants have only used arguments from ecclesiastical history for the sake of replying to Catholic opponents, i.e. in order to appeal to Catholics’ principles or preferences; but such arguments were not the real grounds of their belief.

59. 4 **the Latitudinarian party** those Anglicans who are ‘indifferent as to particular creeds or forms of church government or worship’ (*O.E.D.*).

60. 1 **Marshal Soult** Nicholas Soult (1769-1851) one of Napoleon’s favourite and most capable generals and Wellington’s opponent in the Peninsular War.

60. 1-2 **his visit to London a few years ago** Soult represented France at the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1837.

60. 5-6 **Louis Philippe** (1773-1850), the ‘Citizen King’ of France. He fled to England after being deposed in the 1848 revolution.

60. 7-9 **Napoleon . . . off the British coast** On 15<sup>th</sup> July 1815, following his defeat at Waterloo, Napoleon boarded a British warship, *Bellerophon*, and surrendered himself.

60. 11 ***mutatis mutandis*** with due alteration of details in comparing cases.

60. 12 **Wellington** Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of Wellington (1769-1852), soldier and statesman; the victor of Waterloo, later Prime Minister.

60. 13 **Blucher** Field-Marshal Gebhard von Blucher (1742-1819), commander of the



Prussian army at Waterloo.

60. 14-15 **the Emperor Nicholas** Tsar Nicholas I of Russia (1796-1855), champion of autocracy, Orthodoxy and Russian nationalism.

60. 21 **Lord Londonderry** Robert Stewart (1769-1822), second marquis of Londonderry, better known as Viscount Castlereagh, statesman. He became unpopular because of the Six Acts, 1819, and later the measures against Queen Caroline (see below); he became mentally ill through overwork and committed suicide.

60. 22 **at George the Fourth's coronation** Newman watched the coronation procession, together with his sister Harriett, commenting in a joint letter:

Of all the nobility the most applauded and the most talked of was Lord Londonderry. He was dressed as a Knight of the Garter – the band of his hat was composed of most brilliant diamonds, to the worth of near £20, 000. His person was so graceful and his manner so pleasing, and the way he acknowledged the continued cheers he received so good-natured, that we have not ceased to talk of him. (*L.D.*, I, p.111)

60. 27 **his wife** Caroline of Brunswick (1768-1821) became estranged from the King immediately after their marriage in 1795. Despite her extraordinary coarseness, vulgarity and scandalously immoral personal life, she was wildly popular, especially with the London mob. Newman's father was a supporter of Caroline, while John Henry strongly disagreed. His brother Frank later recorded a violent argument between father and son on the subject, during which Mr. Newman accused John Henry of taking the King's side simply in order to support authority. See Trevor, M., *Newman, The Pillar of the Cloud*, p.77.

**61. 1 St.Francis of Assisi . . . would be hooted** Newman may also have in mind the experience of Dominic Barberi (1792-1849), the Italian Passionist priest who came to England and travelled the country barefoot in his monk's habit preaching. He attracted derision for this and later adopted a more English style of dress. Newman much admired his missionary spirit and personal sanctity, however, and it was he who received Newman into the Catholic Church at Littlemore in 1845. He was beatified in 1963.

**61. 2-3 dressed up like a mandarin** St.Francis Xavier (1506-1552), the great Jesuit missionary, adopted Eastern dress to assist his evangelisation of the East Indies and Japan.

**61. 4 a Parsee** a member of a Zoroastrian sect of Persian descent found in India.

**61. 5 a Bonze** European term for a Buddhist priest.

**61. 7 cynosure** lit. a guiding star; by extension, something which attracts attention.

**62. 26 Bluff King Hal** Henry V (1387-1422), so called in Shakespeare's play.

**62. 26 glorious Bess** Elizabeth I (1533-1603). Edmund Spenser (1552-99) termed her 'Gloriana' in *The Faerie Queene* (1589, 1596), Canto I, l. 19.

**62. 27 the Royal Martyr** Charles I (1600-49).

**62. 27 the Merry Monarch** Charles II (1630-85).

**62. 27-8 the pious and immortal William** William III (1650-1702), 'pious' in the



Protestant tradition because in the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 he replaced the ousted Catholic James II. Since that time no Catholic can succeed to the throne.

62. 28 **the good King George** George III (1738-1820).

63. 4-5 **the lion and the dog** the heraldic supporters on the royal arms of Henry VIII. Since 1603 the dog, a greyhound, has been replaced by a unicorn.

63. 17 **ex animo** 'from the heart'.

63. 32 **the Achitophels of the day** In the Bible, Achitophel was the treacherous adviser of King David. He deserted the king for David's son Absalom, who was leading a revolt, but later committed suicide (see 2 Kings 25). So, in general, Achitophels are royal counsellors whose advice should not be trusted. Dryden had made this use of the name famous through his political satire (on the Whigs) *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681).

64. 1-2 **The Virgin Queen** Elizabeth I, as depicted in royal propaganda.

64. 4 **alderman** a senior civic dignitary. 'A magistrate in English and Irish cities and boroughs, next in dignity to the Mayor; properly, as in London, the chief officer of a ward.' (O.E.D.)

64. 4 **burgess** citizen (of a city borough).

65. 1-2 **disputes between the Pontificate and the Regale**, the dispute about **Investitures** the arguments in the 11th and 12th centuries between the rights of the Papacy and the rights of the Crown to the appointment of Bishops to vacant Sees.

**65. 2 Rufus William II (1056-1100).**

**65. 3 St.Anselm** (c.1033-1109), Archbishop of Canterbury, had a prolonged dispute with both William II and Henry I in which he defended the right of the Church to elect bishops without interference from the Crown.

**65. 3-4 St.Thomas à Beckett** (1118-1170), Archbishop of Canterbury. His dispute with Henry II over the respective jurisdictions of Church and State led to his martyrdom in Canterbury Cathedral.

**65. 4 Henry of Winchester Henry III (1207-1272).**

**65. 4 St.Edmund** of Abingdon (c.1170-1240), Archbishop of Canterbury, had a dispute with Henry III over the differences between church law and English common law.

**65. 6 Cardinal Fisher** St.John Fisher (1469-1535), martyred for refusing to recognise Henry VIII's claim to be Head of the Church in England. While in prison he had been created a Cardinal by Pope Paul III. Having been venerated by English Catholics from the time of his death, he was canonised in 1935.

**66. 14 Alfred** the Great (849-99), heroic King of Wessex, law-giver and encourager of scholarship.

**66. 14 St.Edward** King Edward the Confessor (c.1004-1066), saintly Anglo-Saxon ruler; buried in Westminster Abbey.



66. 14 **Stephen Langton** (1151-1228) Archbishop of Canterbury; one of the main influences in bringing about the signing of Magna Carta by King John.

66. 15 **Friar Bacon** Roger Bacon (1214-94), Franciscan friar; early experimental scientist.

68. 1 **no English literature before the age of Elizabeth** Newman ignores Chaucer and the other mediaeval writers. The nineteenth century revival of interest in Middle English literature was only just beginning.

68. 6 **the taking of Constantinople by the Turks** in 1453. For Newman's account of the events leading up to and following this, see *H.S.*, i, 143-151.

68. 27 **Pericles** (c.490-429 B.C.) Athenian statesman, general and orator at the time of Athens' greatest success and influence.

68. 27 **Alexander the Great** (356-323 B.C.)

69. 8 **theological *patois*** distinctive vocabulary and typical phrases and expressions.

69. 11-12 **"As in . . . vilest using"** from 'The Children in the Temple' by John Keble (1792-1866), in *The Christian Year* (1827). This collection of poems was enormously influential in developing the spirituality of the Oxford Movement. 'The Children in the Temple' is an appeal to poets to use their gift for God's glory, in contrast to the more earthly concerns of writers, such as Byron and Shelley, who 'in idol-hymns profane / The sacred soul-enthraling strain'. Newman is therefore saying that the 16th and 17th century translators of the bible similarly used their literary skill for a 'vile' use, the promotion of

Protestant ideas. By using Keble's poem to make this point, Newman implicitly parallels the spread of Protestantism through the English of the Protestant Bible with the spread of infidel ideas through modern poetry.

69. 22 **Shakespeare** To describe Shakespeare as a panegyrist of Elizabeth and her religion is perhaps rather an over-simplification, as Newman himself admits later (p.70, ll.20-22). He has sometimes even been claimed as a closet Catholic.

69. 22 **Spenser** See above Note on p.62. 26. 'Keble . . . panegyricized Spenser . . . as *the Christian poet*' (*L.D.*, VIII, p.280).

69. 22 **Sidney** Sir Philip Sidney (1554-86), poet and soldier. He was a friend of Spenser and exercised an enormous influence on the writers of the age. He died in an attack on a Spanish convoy and was celebrated as the exemplar of the Elizabethan heroic virtues in a number of elegies, notably Spenser's 'Astrophel'.

69. 22 **Raleigh** Sir Walter Raleigh (1552-1618); his long elegy 'Cynthia, the Lady of the Sea' (of which only a fragment survives) expresses his devotion to Elizabeth.

69. 23 **Hooker** Richard Hooker (1554-1600), Church of England divine and scholar; his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Politie* (1594, 1597, 1648, 1662) is the classic defence of the Elizabethan religious settlement.

69. 28-9 "a fair vestal throned by the west" See Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, ll. 155-164, where Oberon describes how Cupid fired an arrow at this beautiful royal vestal virgin, but she 'passed on / In maiden meditation' so that he missed, and the arrow fell in the ground. This 'imperial votress' is Elizabeth, impervious to the



blandishments of those who wished to marry her, whom Shakespeare thus indirectly includes in the drama. See the Arden edition, ed. Brooks, H., (London, 1979), pp. cii, 37.

69. 29 the poem of Spenser *The Faerie Queen* (1589-96); the allegory is exactly as Newman explains it.

70. 1ff a long series of creations . . . Newman was to return to this subject at greater length in *Idea*:

How real a creation, how *sui generis*, is the style of Shakespeare, or of the Protestant Bible and Prayer Book, or of Swift, or of Pope, or of Gibbon, or of Johnson! . . . like music, it has seized upon the public mind; and the literature of England is no longer a mere letter, printed in books, and shut up in libraries, but it is a living voice, which has gone forth in its expressions and its sentiments into the world of men, which daily thrills upon our ears and syllables our thoughts, which speaks to us through our correspondents, and dictates when we put pen to paper. Whether we will or no, the phraseology and diction of Shakespeare, of the Protestant formularies, of Milton, of Pope, of Johnson's *Tabletalk*, and of Walter Scott, have become a portion of the vernacular tongue, the household words, of which perhaps we little guess the origin, and the very idioms of our familiar conversation. The man in the comedy spoke prose without knowing it, and we Catholics, without consciousness and without offence, are ever repeating the half sentences of dissolute playwrights and heretical partizans and preachers. So tyrannous is the literature of a nation; it is too much for us. We cannot deny or reverse it; we may confront and encounter it, but we cannot make it over again. It is a great work of man, when it is no work of God. . . . English Literature will ever *have been* Protestant. Swift and Addison, the most native and natural of our writers, Hooker and Milton, the most elaborate, never can become our co-

religionists. (pp.313-4)

70. 19 **Milton** John Milton (1608-74). *Paradise Lost* (1667) has a Protestant theology underlying its biblical narrative; its Christology is notably unorthodox.

70. 19 **Bunyan** John Bunyan (1628-88). His works are strongly Puritan in theology. *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) includes the figure of the Giant Pope, formerly powerful but now impotently gnashing his teeth in a cave.

71. 8 **Clarendon** See above Note on 34. 32.

71. 8 **Locke** John Locke (1632-1704), philosopher, author of *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690). Newman was to take particular issue with Locke's account of certitude in *G.A.*, 106-9.

71. 9 **Hume** David Hume (1711-76), philosopher, historian and political writer, author of *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40), *History of Great Britain* (1754-61).

71. 9 **Robertson** William Robertson (1721-93), Presbyterian minister and historian, author of *A History of Scotland during the reigns of Queen Mary and James VI* (1759) and *A History of Charles V* (1769). Newman later quotes from the latter (p.100).

71. 10 **Cowper** William Cowper (1731-1800). He had evangelical sympathies and was much admired by Newman in his youth; he often quotes him, e.g. *Idea*, p.191, 467 (where he terms him 'the Protestant poet').

71. 26-8 **Samuel Johnson . . . doctrine and discipline** For example, see Boswell, *Life of*



72. 1 **Wordsworth** Newman is referring to Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* (1821-2). Examples of the 'Catholic' sonnets are *Cistercian Monastery* (Part II, III), *Monks and Schoolmen* (Part II, V), and, most notably, *The Virgin* (Part II, XXV). Examples of anti-Catholic sonnets are *Revival of Popery* (Part II, XXXIII), *Reflection* (Part II, XXVIII) and *William the Third* (Part III, IX).

72. 5 **Pantheism** belief that God and the universe are identical. Newman is not directly accusing Wordsworth of pantheism; indeed, he saw Wordsworth as one of the writers who, along with Scott and Coleridge, had contributed to 'a growing tendency towards the character of mind and feeling of which Catholic doctrines are the just expression' (*Ess*, i, 268).

72. 5 **Burke** Edmund Burke (1729-97) championed Catholic emancipation and encouraged the foundation of Maynooth College for the training of the Irish clergy. In the *Idea* Newman quoted Davison's praise of Burke as 'our immortal statesman, whose eloquence is inferior only to his more admirable wisdom' (p.176).

72. 21-2 **"judicious"** Hooker was so described on his tombstone.

72. 22 **the Prayer Book** the Book of Common Prayer containing the Church of England's liturgical texts, written largely by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and given its final form in 1662. The development of Newman's attitude towards the Prayer Book was central to the evolution of his religious position. Early in the Oxford Movement he saw its doctrines and its rubrics as embodying primitive Catholic teaching and pointed out the inconsistencies of Protestant attitudes towards it (see *V.M.*, ii, pp.23ff). Later, as a Catholic, he shocked

many Anglicans by stating that 'the thought of the Anglican service makes me shiver' (*L.D.*, xx, p.215) and that he had always found the Prayer Book services 'dreary', describing them as 'two or three Catholic services mutilated and thrown together, without any respect to due arrangement, or dependence of part; psalms, lessons, prayers huddled up together, and read over and over again week after week' (*ibid*, p.340).

**72. 23 the Thirty-nine Articles** the thirty-nine statements approved by Parliament in 1557 to which Anglican clergymen had to subscribe. They were said to be 'moderate' in that they were designed to reject both Catholic and extreme Protestant doctrines and thus allow an Anglican middle way. Newman's attempt in *Tract 90* to interpret the Articles in a Catholic sense (*V.M.*, ii, 259ff.) and its subsequent violent rejection by the Anglican authorities was a key element in his realisation that the Church of England would not tolerate Catholic doctrine. His quoting here of 'moderate' as the standard Anglican epithet for the Articles therefore has a particular irony for him: he had attempted to argue that they were indeed moderate in that, though they were framed by the Protestant Reformers, they were patient of a Catholic interpretation and so could be assented to by Catholic-minded Tractarians. But such comprehensiveness had been decisively rejected; in practice the only interpretation of the Articles permitted was a strictly Protestant one.

**72. 24-5 "the Pope, the Devil and the Pretender."** See e.g., 'I defy the Pope, the Devil, and the Pretender; and hope to be saved as well as another' (Smollett, T., *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, (Everyman edn., London, 1973), p.237). The Pretender was the exiled Stuart (and Catholic) claimant to the throne. There were two: the Old Pretender, James (1688-1766), the son of James II; and his son, the Young Pretender, Charles (1720-1788).

**72. 27-9 London is burned . . . the incendiaries** The Monument to the Great Fire of



London bore an inscription claiming that the fire had been started by ‘ye treachery and malice of ye popish factiö, in order to ye carrying on their horrid plott for extirpating the Protestant religion and old English liberty, and the introducing popery and slavery.’ It had only been removed in 1831.

72. 31 **Pope Joan** a supposed female pope said to have reigned between Leo IV and Benedict III in the 9th century. This legend, which dated back to the middle ages, had been debunked as early as 1640 and by a Protestant writer, but it was still commonly believed to be an historical fact by Protestants, as Newman later mentions (*Prepos*, p.79). For example, in February 1850, the *North British Review* (Vol.12, pp.354-370), a monthly magazine of general interest, had contained an article seriously citing ‘historical’ evidence about Pope Joan, complete with details about a statue of her and her child in Rome and a portrait in Sienna Cathedral. It was also the name of a popular card game which was played with the eight of diamonds, called the ‘Pope Joan’, removed from the pack. See also below Note to p.79. 28-31.

72. 33 – 73. 1 **Malibrans** Maria Malibran (1808-36), opera singer; she first appeared on the stage in London at the age of 17, launching a career that made her famous throughout Europe. She fell off her horse while riding in London and died from head injuries a few days later in Manchester.

73. 1 **Priams** Priam was the King of Troy and father of Hector; he was killed by Pyrrhus when the Greeks finally took the city.

73. 4 **morris-dance** a traditional English dance in which characters such as Robin Hood appear. It is said to have come originally from Spain where it was a ‘Moorish’ dance.

**73. 4-5 Grand Turk** traditional figure of the Sultan of Turkey.

**73. 7 the Mountebank** a seller of quack medicines at fairs who drew the crowds with juggling feats and other tricks, performed on a raised platform ('bank').

**73. 9-10 the most sacred words of the Catholic ritual** Newman is probably referring to the sham-Latin formula 'Hocus-pocus' which has been thought to be a corruption of the words of Consecration at Mass, 'Hoc est corpus' ('This is my body').

**73. 14-5 Jesuitical . . . dishonourable and vile** e.g. the O.E.D. defines 'Jesuitical' as 'deceitful, dissembling'.

**75. 33 Unitarians** a religious body which rejects the doctrine of the Trinity, denying that the Son and the Holy Spirit are Divine Persons. The Unitarians were descended from the liberal Presbyterians of the 17th century. The first Unitarian church opened in London in 1774. Newman was much disturbed at the way that people such as White (see above Note on p.18) and his own brother Francis abandoned orthodox Christianity and ended up with Unitarian beliefs. For Newman's view that the Latitudinarian (liberal) wing of Anglicanism tended inevitably to Unitarianism, see *L.D.*, v, 32.

**75. 33 Sabellians** originally, followers of Sabellius a heretic of the third century who took the view that the Father had become incarnate in Christ and was thus the same as the Son. A later version of Sabellianism held that the Holy Spirit was not a separate Divine Person and that the three Persons of the Trinity were merely different manifestations or masks of the divine. This effectively denied the Incarnation, since the manifestation of God in Christ did not differ essentially from God's union with any holy man. No-one in the nineteenth century would have called himself a Sabellian, but some liberal Anglican



writers, such as Richard Whately in his *Logic* (1826), approximated to this view. See *A.W.* (p.211): 'Whateley, Hawkins and Blanco White were all verging towards Sabellianism'. For Whately, see below Note on p. 184. 17.

75. 33 **Utilitarians** followers of the philosophers Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). Utilitarianism rejected any standard for judging right or wrong apart from that which would bring about 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. Newman is thinking of this as a general outlook among some members of the Establishment rather than a specific party.

76. 1 **Wesleyans** followers of John Wesley (1703-91), Methodists, by this time a separate body from the Church of England, so Newman is technically wrong to describe them as 'in its very bosom'. However, many Methodists would still have thought of themselves as members of the Church of England.

76. 1 **Calvinists** followers of the Protestant Reformer John Calvin (1509-64). His doctrines, notably predestination, influenced a number of Protestant bodies. Evangelicals in the Church of England tended to hold Calvinist views, as Newman himself did in his younger years (see *Apo.*, pp.97-100).

76. 1 **Swedenborgians** followers of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), the Swedish philosopher, scientist and mystic who developed an esoteric religious system following a series of visions he experienced. The poet William Blake was among those influenced by him.

76. 1 **Irvingites** followers of Edward Irving (1792-1834), a former minister of the Church of Scotland. They called themselves 'The Catholic Apostolic Church' and are satirised by

Newman in *Loss and Gain*.(pp.389-395). Their creed was largely that of mainstream Christianity but they had a special form of church government and liturgy and expected the end of the world soon. See also below Note on p.186. 32.

**76. 2 Freethinkers** Newman is probably not using this term in its usual general meaning but referring to a society of 'Freethinking Christians' which had been founded in London in 1799. They eschewed all doctrinal uniformity, allowing a wide diversity of opinion among their members, but were extremely critical of other Christian bodies.

**76. 6-7 "The Mother and Mistress of all Churches"** in reality the title of St.John Lateran, the Cathedral Church of Rome and therefore the mother church of the Catholic world. Newman here satirically suggests that the Church of England applies this title to the British monarch as head of the Church of England.

**76. 9-10 "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this land"** Article XXXVIII of the Thirty-Nine Articles.

**77. 12-3 bobs, and bobs royal, and triple-bob-majors** 'A term used by change ringers to denote certain changes in the working of the methods by which long peals of changes are produced. . . . a *bob triple* is rung upon 7 bells, a *bob-major* upon 8, a *bob royal* upon 10' (*O.E.D.*).

**77. 13 grandsires** 'A particular method of ringing the changes on a ring of bells; its varieties are designated *grandsire cinque*, *grandsire bob*, *grandsire triples*, etc' (*ibid*).

**77. 26-7 The deliverance from Egypt** See Exodus 3-15.



**77. 27 the golden calf** See Exodus 32.

**77. 27 the fall of Dagon** See 1 Samuel 5:1-5.

**77. 27-8 the sin of Solomon** See 1 Kings 11.

**77. 28 the cruelties of Jezebel** See above Note on p.38. 16-17

**77. 28-9 the worship of Baal** Baal was a pagan fertility deity to whose worship (with obscene rites) the ancient Israelites repeatedly turned, despite the severe denunciations of the prophets. See Numbers 25:1ff., Judges 6:28, 1 Kings 18:19ff., Jeremiah 2:8ff., Hosea 2:2-13.

**77. 29 the destruction of the brazen serpent** See Numbers 21:4ff.

**77. 29-30 the finding of the law** See 2 Kings 22:8ff.

**77. 30 the captivity in Babylon** See 2 Kings 15-17, 24-5.

**77. 30 – 88. 1 Nebuchodonosor's image** See Daniel 3.

**77. fn.1. an able pamphlet by Serjeant Bellasis** Bellasis's open letter, *The Anglican Bishops, versus the Catholic Hierarchy: A Demurrer to further Proceedings* (London, 1841) contains a list of 'expressions extracted from the addresses, replies, and speeches of Anglican Bishops since October last, as reported in *The Times* newspaper'. Listing a hundred and eighty-one vituperative epithets used by the bishops to describe the setting up of the restored Catholic hierarchy (e.g. 'blasphemous, unclean, apostate, arrogant, profane,

pestilent, satanic' etc.), Bellasis makes the point that the Church of England cannot consistently claim that it is being 'temperate and charitable' in its reaction. Newman asked his friend Richard Stanton to get him a copy of it after it had been quoted by the Catholic M.P. John Reynolds in the House of Commons during the second debate on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill (see *L.D.*, xiv, pp.297-8). It was later suggested to Newman that his own 'bells' passage here was based on Bellasis's pamphlet. He pointed out that 'Neither the words nor the idea occur in the [Serjeant's] pamphlet, and I am sure that I did not take it from him. My idea is the *monotonous* repetition in *changed* order of a few words, 'atrocious', 'insidious,' etc., and I got these words not from him, but from episcopal charges, as he did.' (ibid., xxx, p.136). Newman was keen, however, to make a reference to Bellasis's 'forcible pamphlet'; he even thought of reprinting it in its entirety as an appendix to a new edition of *Present Position* but decided eventually on the present footnote.

**78. 1 Herodians** the party among the Jews who were partisans of Herod Antipas (4 B.C.–39 A.D.) and lax in their observance of Judaism.

**78. 2 Zealots** the party among the Jews who fiercely resisted the Roman occupation.

**78. 2-3 mint, anise, and cummin, brazen pots and vessels** See Jesus's denunciation of the Pharisees' hypocrisy: 'You tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have neglected the weightier matters of the law, justice and mercy and faith' (Matthew 23:23). Among the Pharisees' many traditions are 'the washing of cups and brazen pots and vessels' (Mark 7:4).

**78. 7 Wolsey** Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (1473-1530), Chancellor under Henry VIII until he fell from favour for being unable to obtain papal sanction for the king's divorce from



Catherine of Aragon. He was famous for his worldliness and pomp but died a humiliated and broken man.

**78. 8 the Duke of Alva** (1508-82), general to King Philip II of Spain; he put down the Protestant revolt of the Spanish Netherlands with great severity.

**78. 9 Hildebrand** Pope Gregory VII (1020-85), a reforming and intransigent pope who had a prolonged conflict with the Emperor Henry IV which culminated in the latter's doing three days of public penance, kneeling in the snow at Canossa. For Newman's admiring view of this Pope, even while an Anglican, see 'The Reformation of the Eleventh Century', *Ess.*, ii, 249-335.

**78. 10 Cæsar Borgia** (1476-1507), the ruthless son of Pope Alexander VI, who murdered his way to power.

**78. 10-11 Louis the Eleventh** King Louis XI of France (1461-83) centralised power in the hands of the Crown. In his old age he shut himself up in a stronghold for fear of assassins, dismissing his personal servants, and ruled through intrigue.

**79. 19 "Deipara"** which means "equal to God." a classic example of Protestant misunderstanding. In classical Latin *par* does mean 'an equal', but *Deipara* is a late Latin coinage meaning 'parent (or mother) of God', translating the Greek Θεοτοκος, 'God-bearer.'

**79. 20 the man of sin** See 2 Thessalonians 2:3-4: 'Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called

God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.’ Protestant polemicists regularly interpreted this as a prophecy of the papacy. The passage is so quoted in Thomas Stephen’s *The Spirit of the Church of Rome*, (London, 1840), pp.112-3 (see below Note on 80. fn.1).

79. 21-22 **“the Pope is God, and God is the Pope.”** “‘The other divine titles,” says Mr. Whitaker, “by which that man of sin, the apostate Bishop Of Rome, suffers himself to be hailed, are – *Our most holy Lord – Our Lord God the Pope – his divine majesty – the victorious God and man in his see of Rome – Deus optimus maximus, the best and greatest God – Vice-God – named God by the pious Emperor Constantine, and adored as God by that emperor – the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world – the most holy who carrieth the Most Holy.*” The Romanists assert that *the Pope is God, and God is the Pope.*’ (Stephen, op. cit., p.115; he footnotes the internal quotation as ‘Whitaker’s Comment, p.273’.)

79. 24-7 **Cardinal Bellarmine . . . eternal damnation.** ‘Cardinal Bellarmine maintains that if the Pope commanded us to practise vice and shun virtue; that men are obliged, under pain of eternal damnation, to act accordingly. This he says, “*is the very foundation of the Christian religion; to deny which is not only a simple error, but a damnable heresy.*”’ (Ibid). Stephen gives no reference for this any of this; presumably he is continuing to quote Whitaker.

79. 28-31 **“John the Eighth . . . elected Pope.”** ‘John VIII. was a *woman!* whose real name was Gilberta, and who was born at Mentz. She was the *intimate* companion of a monk of Fulda; and the better to carry on their infamous commerce, dissembled her sex, assumed the habit of a man, and took the name of John English. Under this disguise, and in his company, she studied in several universities, and at last went to Athens. She possessed



great natural powers, and had great perseverance, and acquired considerable learning. After the death of her friend the monk, she settled at Rome, where she delivered public lectures on divinity, and acquired such fame for learning that, after the death of Leo, she was unanimously elected Pope.’ (Ibid, p.52.) Stephen continues with an account of her giving birth during a public procession and the subsequent erection of ‘a statue of a female with a child in her arms upon the spot’ which was later removed by Pope Pius V. See also below Note on 251. 1-2.

**79. 33 – 80. 2 Councils infallible! . . . of Constance.”** ‘General councils, as well as Romish pontiffs and popish priests, outraged the laws, not indeed of celibacy, but of abstinence. . . . The general council of Florence imitated the incontinence practised at Lyons. Seven hundred public or common women followed in the train of the Constantian fathers. The Viennese manuscript augments the number of these female attendants, whom it calls vagrant strumpets, to fifteen hundred. This was a reasonable supply for the thousand learned divines that composed the infallible assembly.’ (Edgar, Samuel, *Variations of Popery*, (London 1838), p.533). Edgar footnotes this passage: ‘Mulieres communes quas reperi in domibus DCC. Labb. 16. 1436. Bruys, 4. 39. Item XVC meretrices vagabundae. Labb. 16. 1435.’

**80. 3 Jesuits! . . . twenty thousand** This is, of course, a gross overestimate of the number of members of the Society of Jesus in England at this time.

**80. 6 Oscott** a Catholic college in the Midlands of England; there were no Jesuits there.

**80. 8-10 the Purification . . . goddess Proserpina?”** ‘The second of February is called the Purification, or Candlemas, and is celebrated in honour of the Virgin Mary, by the people going in procession round the churches with wax candles in their hands. . . . Now,

this is the very feast that was celebrated by the ancient Pagan Romans in honour of the goddess Proserpina.’ (Stephen, op.cit., pp.132-3)

80 13-14 “*She shall crush . . . her heel.*” Genesis 3:16 in the Douay translation. Bishop Challoner’s (1691-1781) footnote says: ‘*Ipsa*, the woman; so divers of the fathers read this place, conformably to the Latin: others read *ipsum*, that is, the seed. The sense is the same: for it is by her seed, *Jesus Christ*, that the woman crushes the serpent’s head.’

80. 15-18 “Popery,” . . . priest, priest.” This quotation does not appear in the works Newman cites.

80. 31 Royal Society founded in 1660 by a group of English scientists, including Robert Boyle (1627-1691), to promote the natural sciences; incorporated by royal charter in 1662.

80. fn.1 Stephen’s Spirit . . . Stephen, Thomas, *The Spirit of the Church of Rome, Its Principles, and Practices, as Examined in History* (London, 1840); Edgar, Samuel, *The Variations of Popery* (London, 1831); Cramp, J.M., *A Text-Book of Popery: Comprising a Brief History of the Council of Trent, a Translation of its Doctrinal Decrees, and Copious Extracts from the Catechism Published by its Authority; With Notes and Illustrations: The Whole Intended to Furnish a Correct and Complete View of the Theological System of Popery*, (London, 1831). Newman would have come across these works through the review copies sent to *The British Critic* while he was Editor. There are short notices of Cramp’s and Stephen’s books in Vol.XXVI (October 1839) p.511, and Vol.XXVII (April 1840), p.475, respectively.

80. fn.1 &c. Other anti-Catholic literature which Newman had at hand included: Pope,



Rev. Richard T.P., *Roman Misquotation: or Certain Passages from the Fathers, adduced in a work entitled "The Faith of Catholics," &c. brought to the test of the originals, and their perverted character demonstrated* (London, 1840); A Lay Member of the Church of England, *The Protestant's Armory; being a collection of extracts from various writers on the Church of Rome, chiefly designed to show its apostate, idolatrous, and antichristian character*, (London, 1839) Pope's work and *The Protestant Armory* received short notices in *The British Critic* Vol. XXIX (January 1841), p.491, and Vol. XXIX (April 1841), pp.241-2, respectively.

81. 18-19 **our likeness in the book of Daniel . . .** The texts usually cited by anti-Catholic writers seeking Scriptural prophecies of the wickedness of the Catholic Church included Daniel 2:31-45; 11-12; 2 Thessalonians 2:3-12; 1 Timothy 4:1-3; 2 Timothy 3:1-9; Revelation 13, 17, 18.

84. 27 **its decay and almost extinction** Newman had recently been reading a pamphlet *Religion, Life and Property in Danger. Extracts from Mr. Hamilton's Account of the Alarming Spread of Infidelity and Vice through Christendom* [n.d.] which recounted how Lutheranism was turning into scepticism in Germany. It is to be found among his *Present Position* preparatory work papers.

85. 27 **an oath** the Oath of Allegiance, acknowledging the King or Queen as Supreme Head of the Church in England and repudiating the power of the Pope, dating from Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy in 1534. There had been a new one under Elizabeth I which all clergy, judges, officials, university graduates, indeed anyone in a position of authority, had to take, acknowledging the Queen as Supreme Governor 'in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things as well as temporal.' Under James I the oath was further strengthened so that it declared that the Pope's claim to excommunicate or depose a ruler was 'damnable' and

obliged the swearer to report any 'traitorous conspiracies.' It was considerably relaxed under Cromwell, when only political, not religious, loyalty was required to the government, but was restored under Charles II when a new Test Act was passed also which forced all holders of public office to receive the Anglican sacrament and added to the oath a new declaration against transubstantiation. New Acts of allegiance and supremacy, with an accompanying oath, were passed in 1699 following the 'Glorious Revolution'. This remained in force until the Catholic Relief Act of 1778 introduced a new oath which only required allegiance to George III, a declaration that it was unlawful to depose or murder a ruler, that the Pope had no civil jurisdiction in England and that no-one had the power to release the swearer from his oath. Catholics felt that they could take this oath. However, they were still allowed neither to vote nor to sit in either House of Parliament, and full political rights for Catholics only came with Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Even this Act required an oath 'not to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion' and to deny that the Pope had any political rights in England.

86. 17 **Hooker . . . Falkland** This list includes some of the Anglican 'fathers' whose teaching Newman had aimed to systematise in the *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism* (1837). He termed these writers 'the most vigorous, the clearest, the most fertile minds, [who] have through God's mercy been employed in the service of our Church, minds too as reverential and holy, and as fully imbued with Ancient Truth, and as well versed in the writings of the Fathers, as they were intellectually gifted' (*V.M.*, i, p.24). However, he came to feel that they had misled him: his 'confidence in the Anglican divines was more and more shaken, and at last it went altogether' (*ibid.*, p.xxxiii). He felt in particular that their anti-Catholicism had led him to express anti-Catholic sentiments: 'not only did I think such language necessary for my Church's religious position, but all the great Anglican divines had thought so before me. . . . I was angry with the Anglican divines. I thought they had



taken me in; I had read the Fathers with their eyes; I had sometimes trusted their statements or their reasonings; and from reliance on them, I had used or made statements, which properly I ought rigidly to have examined myself' (*Apo*, p.250). Newman's citing of such writers here in *Prepos* as part of the English anti-Catholic tradition of scholarship and literature is thus a radical critique of his own position as an Anglican. For Newman's more detailed analysis as a Catholic of his Anglican view of such figures, see *Apo*, pp.249-252, and his Preface to the Third Edition of the 'Prophetical Office' in *V.M.*, i, especially pp.xv-xxxv.

86. 17 **Taylor** Jeremy Taylor (1613-67), Anglican divine, chaplain to Archbishop Laud and Charles I and later Bishop of Down and Connor; author of various influential controversial and spiritual works, notably *Holy Living* (1650) and *A Dissuasive from Popery* (1664). The former had been included by Newman, as an Anglican, among the 'most popular books in our Church, and the most highly sanctioned for the last 100 or 200 years' (*V.M.*, i, p.335). In his Oxford Movement writings Newman had frequently quoted Taylor in support of his position, especially in *Tract 90* and the *Letter Addressed to the Rev.R.W.Jelf, D.D.* defending it (see *V.M.*, ii, pp.277-8, 298-9, 300-1, 316, 384). However, even as an Anglican Newman was critical of him, and after he had become a Catholic he admitted, 'I confess I always thought Jeremy Taylor most unsatisfactory and shuffling' (*L.D.*, xiv, p.39).

86. 17 **Chillingworth** William Chillingworth (1602-44), Anglican divine and controversialist; he briefly became a Catholic but returned to the Church of England. From these experiences came his most famous book *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way of Salvation* (1638) which contains his much-quoted dictum, 'The Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants.' He was latitudinarian and rationalist in his belief.

86. 18 **Hampden** John Hampden (1594-1643), statesman; leading Parliamentary opponent of Charles I.

86. 18 **Clarendon** See above Note on 34. 32.

86. 18 **Falkland** Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland (d.1643). His house, Great Tew, in Oxfordshire became a centre for Anglican scholars and theologians. He became Secretary of State under Charles I and died fighting for the royalist cause.

86. 18 **Russell** William Lord Russell (1639-1683), statesman; convicted of high treason and executed for complicity in the Rye House plot, a fictitious plot to assassinate Charles II fabricated by informers to implicate Whig politicians who had been discussing ways of excluding the future James II from the throne.

86. 18 **Somers** John Baron Somers (1651-1716), lawyer and statesman; Lord Chancellor under William and Mary.

86. 19 **Walpole** Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), first earl of Oxford. By combining the posts of Chief Secretary to the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer (and partly because George I was unable to understand English and thus reluctant to attend Cabinet meetings), he effectively created the post of Prime Minister, holding office for a record 21 years.

86. 19 **Hobbes** Thomas (1588-1679), philosopher, best known for his work of political philosophy, *Leviathan* (1651).

86. 18 **Swift** Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), satirist, best known as the author of *Gulliver's*



86. 19 **Warburton** William Warburton (1698-1779), Anglican divine and controversialist; he also produced an edition of Shakespeare.

86. 19 **Horsley** Samuel Horsley (1733-1806), Bishop of St.Asaph; writer of mathematical and theological works. Among the bishops he was the leader of the High Church party which underwent a revival following the shock of the French Revolution.

86. 22 **Pitt** See above Note on p.46. 6.

86. 23 **Fox** See above Note on p.38. 7

87. 9 **bar** barristers (collectively, as a profession).

87. 26 **Butler** See above Note on p.47. 26.

87. 31 **gentlemen and yeomen** the traditional division by rank of English society. The former are properly those who are entitled to bear arms, though they are not members of the nobility, but the term was loosely applied to anyone of the equivalent social class. The latter are properly freeholders of small landed estates who are below the rank of gentlemen, but, again, the term loosely meant any countryman of respectable standing.

87. 32 **Inns of Court** the legal societies, based in London, which have the right to admit people to practise as barristers.

88. 14 **small octavos** books measuring 6 inches by 9½ inches, the size of a school

textbook as opposed to a larger volume for private use.

90. 21-2 **“a fool . . . can answer”** Proverbial. Newman may have come across the saying in his favourite novelist, Walter Scott’s *The Pirate* (1821), xviii.; it is also found in Swift’s *A Complete Collection of Polite and Ingenious Conversation* (1729), Dial.ii.

93. 12 **Albertus Magnus** St.Albert the Great (1206-1280), Dominican friar and scholastic philosopher, known as the ‘Universal Doctor’.

93. 13 **Gerson** Jean Gerson (1363-1428), French theologian; Chancellor of the University of Paris.

93. 13 **Baronius** Cesare Barone (1538-1607), church historian, author of the *Annales Ecclesiastici*; disciple of St.Philip Neri (1515-1595) and one of the first Oratorians; later a Cardinal.

93. 14-5 **five, ten . . . thirty folios** There are copies of these works in Newman’s library, and he would have been able to glance round at their many volumes as he wrote.

93. 28 **the savage Appenine** the mountain range running down the Italian peninsular.

93. 29 **secluded Languedoc** remote region of S.E. France.

93. 29-30 **the high table-land of Mexico** the Altiplanicie Mexicana, lying between the Sierra Madre Occidental and the Sierra Madre Oriental.

93. 31 **Calabria** region of southern Italy, comprising the toe of the Italian peninsular.



93. 31 **Buonavalle** This ‘small village’ is certainly not in Calabria. Newman hints (*Prepos*, p.94) that it is fictional.

93. 33 **S.Filippo d’Argiro** Newman visited the city of S.Filippo d’Argirò in Sicily during his trip to Italy in 1833, passing through it on the day when his illness began:

On Thursday May 2 I started from Adernò - . . . The whole day the scene was like the Garden of Eden most exquisitely beautiful, though varying, sometimes with deep valleys on the side, & many tress, high hills with towns on the top as S. Filippo d’Argyro – Etna behind us, & Castro Juan [Giovanni] before in the distance. On the whole I suppose I went 42 miles that day on my mule – but with great pain. I set out walking, the mules coming after - & fell to tears thinking of dear Mary as I looked at the beautiful prospect. When I got to Reganbutto, I was obliged to lie down for an hour or so. I cannot tell whether I thought myself ill or not. With much distress I proceeded, taking some wine at S.Filippo &, I believe, elsewhere; (I recollect with difficulty dismounting & crawling with my servant’s help to a wine shop - & sitting on a stone.) till in the evening I got to Leonforte. (‘My Illness in Sicily’, *A.W.*, p.123)

The saint after whom the city was named and whose tomb is in St.Philip’s church there, is of unknown date, though there was a legend that he was sent by St.Peter to evangelise Sicily. He is referred to in the 5<sup>th</sup> century as the Apostle of the Sicilians. As Newman hints (*Prepos*, p.94), there does not appear to have been a monastery of S.Spirito in the city; however, it is a common enough name, and there may well have been one elsewhere, which would add to the confusion.

94. 1 **Charlemagne** (742-814), King of the Franks who established an empire comprising Gaul, Italy and large parts of Spain and Germany. Newman saw him as the inaugurator of

a 'new Christian society' (*H.S.*, ii, 478). See also *H.S.*, iii, 150-62.

94. 1-2 **Don Felix Malatesta** ironic: the name of this alleged Benedictine suggests 'bad witness.'

94. 3 **Andalusia** a province in south-western Spain. Newman has added to the confusion of the story by making the Prince's alleged confessor a native of Andalusia at the other end of the Iberian peninsular to Asturia which is in the north-west.

94. 3-4 **the Prince of the Asturias** the heir to the Spanish throne, the equivalent of Prince of Wales. Newman's choice of the Prince of the Asturias and his chaplain may well be an allusion to a play, *Don Carlos*, published in 1822 by Lord John Russell, later Prime Minister. Strongly anti-Catholic in tenor, its eponymous hero also has a wicked monk as chaplain. Russell also published an anti-Catholic novel, *The Nun of Arrnoca* in the same year. It was thus not just the rabidly 'no popery' Protestants who produced anti-Catholic propaganda but also liberals like Russell who could be just as venomous in fictional form.

94. 8 **the field of Salamanca** battle (1812) at which British forces defeated the French.

94. 18 **Coimbra** the ancient royal and pontifically approved university in Portugal.

94. 20 **St.Diego** or Didacus (d.1463). A native of San Nicolas in Andalusia, he became a Franciscan laybrother and for a while was a missionary in the Canary Islands. Newman doubtless chose this saint in order to add to the confusion since there are many other St.Diegos.

95. 3-4 *Auto da fé* the public burning of a heretic, or more properly the preceding



religious ceremony.

97. 4-5 **Dr.Bentley, in his controversy with Boyle** Richard Bentley (1662-1742), classical scholar and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Charles Boyle (1676-1731), fourth Earl of Orrery, had edited (1695) some 'Epistles of Phalaris' (a tyrant in Sicily in the 6th century B.C.) which Bentley proved to be spurious in his *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning* (1697).

97. 13ff. **"An admirable reason . . ."** Bentley, Richard, D.D., *A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris with An Answer to the Objections Of the Honourable Charles Boyle, Esquire*, (London, 1699), p.xci., Bentley's answer to Boyle's *Dr.Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris* (1698).

97. 19-20 **the first ablution. . . 'Quod ore sumpsimus'** According to the Rite of Mass in use until the liturgical reform of the Second Vatican Council, the priest while consuming the water which had been used to cleanse his fingers and the chalice after Communion, prayed: 'Grant, O Lord, that *what we have taken with our mouth*, we may receive with a pure mind' etc.

97. 24 **. . . your new Sumpsimus."** Bentley continues:

'Tis a known story, but I'll give it him in the words of Sir Richard Pace, who was a man of Business and an Ambassadour too, and upon those accounts will have the more authority with the Examiner.

He footnotes:

*Paceus*: De fructu, qui ex doctrina percipitur. *Basil.* 1517. p.80. Quidam indoctus Sacrificus Anglus per annos triginta *Mumpsimus* legere solitus est loco *Sumpsimus*; & quum moneretur à docto, ut errorem emndaret, respondit, Se nolla mutare suum

antiquum *Mumpsimus* ipsius novo *Sumpsimus*.

Richard Pace (1482-1536) whom Bentley cites here was Dean of St.Paul's. He had a career in international diplomacy but found time to write various treatises including *De Fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur, Liber* (1517) which, according to its preface, he wrote in a public bath at Constance.

97. 33 – 98. 2 one of the best read . . . writers of the present day: Henry Hallam; see above Note on p.35. 32. See, however, Newman's Note I (*Prepos*, p.407) on this extract from Hallam.

99. 18-20 He refers to Dr.Robertson . . . and . . . Mosheim: Hallam's footnote (p.354) reads:

Mosheim, cent.vii.c.3. Robertson has quoted this passage, to whom, perhaps, I am immediately indebted for it. Hist. Charles V., vol.i, note 11.

99. 19 Dr.Robertson see above Note on 71.9.

99. 20 Mosheim Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1694-1755), eminent Protestant church historian.

99. 30 Adam Smith (1723-90), philosopher and economist, author of *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776).

99. 30 Gibbon Edward Gibbon (1737-94), historian, author of the monumental *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776, 1781, 1788). Newman much admired, and was influenced by, his style. Although Gibbon's religious views were sceptical, Newman greatly valued him as an historian, commenting that he was 'almost our sole



authority for subjects as near the heart of a Christian as any can well be' (*Ess*, ii., p.186).

99. 30 **literati** men of letters, writers.

99. fn.1 **Hallam's Middle Ages** *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages* (Vol.III, 1818).

100. 2-7. **"the Christian religion . . . external ceremonies."** Newman has telescoped Robertson's text somewhat without indicating all the omissions, though also without distorting the meaning. The passage reads:

Even the christian religion, though its precepts are delivered, and its institutions are fixed in scripture with a precision which should have exempted them from being misinterpreted or corrupted, degenerated, during those ages of darkness, into an illiberal superstition. The barbarous nations, when converted to christianity, changed the object, not the spirit, of their religious worship. They endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the true God by means not unlike to those which they had employed in order to appease their false deities. Instead of aspiring to sanctity and virtue, which alone can render men acceptable to the great author of order and excellence, they imagined that they satisfied every obligation of duty by a scrupulous observance of external ceremonies. (Robertson, W., *Works*, Vol.III (Oxford, 1825), p.17.

100. 8-25 **"All the religious . . . charity towards men."** Ibid., Vol. V, pp.217-8. Newman has silently corrected Robertson's erroneous reference to 'St.Eloy, or Egidius'.

100. 12-16 **He proceeds to quote . . . text of the saint's.** Robertson's quotation proceeds:

“He is a good christian who comes frequently to church; who presents the oblation which is offered to God upon the altar; who doth not taste of the fruits of his own industry, until he has conscreated a part of them to God; who, when the holy festivals approach, lively chastely, even with his own wife, during several days, that with a safe conscience he may draw near the altar of God; and who, in the last place, can repeat the creed and the Lord’s prayer. Redeem then your souls from destruction while you have the means in your power; offer presents and tithes to churchmen; come more frequently to church; humbly implore the patronage of the saints; for, if you observe these things, you may come with security in the day of retribution to the tribunal of the eternal judge, and say. ‘Give to us, O Lord, for we have given unto thee.’” Dacherii Spicilegium Vet. Script. Vol. ii. p.94. (Ibid)

This last refers to *Spicilegium, sive Collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliæ bibliothecis, maxime Benedictorum, latuerunt* (Paris, Vols.i-iii, 1655-77) by Lucas D’Archéry (1609-85) from which Mosheim selectively quoted as if it were the original text (see below, Note on p.100. 20-5) and of which Newman had a copy. The Life of St.Eligius is in Vol.ii, pp.76-123.

100. 16-25 **Then he adds . . . charity towards men.”** The italics in the Maclaine quotation are Newman’s; he has also capitalised the divine pronoun. In the original, Robertson adds the reference: ‘Mosh. Eccles. Hist. Vol.i p.324.’ (Ibid) Robertson’s translation of Mosheim’s extract is in fact inaccurate, as Maitland later demonstrated (see below Note on. p. 107. 22).

100. 17 **Dr.Maclaine** Archibald Maclaine (1722-1804), divine; for nearly 50 years he was pastor to the English church at the Hague. His translation of Mosheim was first published in 1765.



100. 20-5 **“We see here . . .** Mosheim, J.L., *An Ecclesiastical History Ancient and Modern, from the Birth of Christ to the beginning of the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Maclaine, A., Vol.II, (1825 edn.), p.177, n.[x]. Maclaine’s footnote continues: ‘and in which the whole of religion is made to consist in coming often to the church, bringing offerings to the altar, lighting candles in consecrated places, and such like vain services.’ Mosheim’s footnote quotes the (silently edited) Latin passage beginning ‘Bonus Christianus est . . .’ which Robertson translated, but without any reference. The preceding footnote [w] refers to ‘a remarkable passage out of The Life of St.Eligius, or Eloi, bishop of Noyon, which is to be found in Dacherius’ *Spicilegium veter. Scriptor. Tom. ii. p.92.*’ and quotes a passage in Latin about relics.

100. 31 **a certain learned Mr.White** Dr.Joseph White (1745-1814), orientalist, Laudian Professor of Arabic, 1775-1814, and later Regius Professor of History (1804-14), at Oxford.

101. 7 **The lectures** The annual Bampton lectures, a series of eight, endowed for the purpose of ‘the exposition and defence of the Christian Faith as expressed in the Creeds, on the authority of the Scripture and Fathers’. White was the Bampton Lecturer in 1784.

101. 28 – 102. 2 **“a volume of controversy . . . and a philosopher.”** See Gibbon, *op.cit.*, Vol.X (1813 edn), p.23, n.30.

102. 8-9 **a country curate in Devonshire** Samuel Badcock (1747-88), originally a dissenting minister, took orders in the Church of England and became curate of Broad Clyst, Devon. After his death, his parish priest, Dr.Gabriel, revealed that Badcock had given White considerable assistance with the Bampton Lectures, even writing one entire lecture himself. Samuel Parr (1747-1825), schoolmaster, clergyman, critic and political

writer, came to the defence of White, but only by claiming to be responsible himself for a fifth part of the lectures. Bampton published (1790) an account of how Badcock had assisted him.

102. 24-8 “*No representation . . . of Noyon.*” White, Bampton Lectures (1784), notes, p.5. This extract had been found for Newman by his friend David Lewis (see *L.D.*, vol.XIV, p.385).

103. 2 **Jortin** John Jortin (1698-1770), church historian.

103. 7-11 “*In this seventh . . . of that age.*” Jortin, J., *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History* (London, 1773), pp.419-420.

103. 16-28 “*During this century . . . and bodily exercises.*” Newman appears to be making his own translation of Mosheim (who wrote in Latin). The equivalent passages in Robertson’s translation are on pp.176-7 (op.cit).

104. 13 **Dr.Waddington** See above Note on p.15. 27.

105. 10 – 106. 27 “*the sense, . . . as we have given*” Waddington, George, *A History of the Church from the Earliest Ages to the Reformation*, (London, 1833), pp.298-9.

107. 22 **Dr.Maitland** Samuel Maitland (1792-1866), historian. The ‘Ecclesiastical Magazine’ was *The British Magazine*, Vol.VIII [September, 1835], pp.248-256. This article gives an exhaustive treatment of the misquotation of St.Elignus by Mosheim, and its subsequent copying by Robertson, Maclaine, Jortin, White and Hallam, and is Newman’s source for the whole subject. Maitland further demonstrates that Elignus’s sermon borrows



from one by Caesarius (469-542), Bishop of Arles. He quotes extensively from the original text of St.Eligius's sermon, highlighting Mosheim's extracts in italics which appear as minute and isolated portions of a very lengthy text. He concludes: 'it seems to have been written as if he had anticipated all and each of Mosheim's and Maclaine's charges, and intended to furnish a pointed answer to almost every one. I feel it to be most important to our forming a right view of the dark ages, that such false statements respecting the means of instruction and of grace should be exposed' (op.cit., p.256). The article was one of a series later published as *The Dark Ages* (1844).

107. 23 **the Editor** Henry John Rose (see below Note on p.125. 21).

107. fn.2 **Dr.Lingard** John Lingard (1771-1851), priest and historian. He deals with the distortion of the passage from St.Eligius (or Eloy) in *The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (London, 1845), vol.i, pp.414-5:

Dachery, a Benedictine monk, had rescued from the moths and cobwebs an old manuscript, containing the life of the saint; he published it in the fifth volume of his specilegium; where it was found by Maclaine, the English translator of Mosheim. With an eager eye this writer perused its contents, and selected from it a passage, which he appended, as a valuable ornament, to the text of the German historian. . . . The present of Maclaine was gratefully accepted by the prejudices of his readers; and Robertson not only copied it, but acknowledged his obligations to Maclaine for the perusal of so important a passage. . . . From that period it has held a distinguished place in every invective which has been published against the clergy of former ages; and the definition of a good Christian has been echoed a thousand times by the credulity of writers and their readers. But had any of them ever been at the trouble of consulting the original? If he had, he would have discovered that the bishop of Noyon has been foully calumniated; and that, instead

of his real doctrine, a garbled extract has been palmed upon the public.

He goes on to summarise the original passage and quote from it a relevant extract which had been omitted by Maclaine. Maitland, in his *British Magazine* article, quoted an Editor's note to the 1826 edition of Mosheim: "We are bound to state, because we have ascertained the point, that he [Dr.Lingard] has quoted the original *fairly* and *correctly*, according to the best edition of the Spicilegium. . . . We are induced to mention this circumstance because some protestant divines have been so eager to exculpate Dr.Mosheim, that they have accused Dr.Lingard of following a spurious edition, in which various interpolations *might have been* made by the Romanists to support the credit of the early church.'" (op.cit., p.249)

108. 3 **a new edition of Mosheim's history** translated by J.Murdock (1841).

109. 1 **the *Times* newspaper** founded by John Walter (1739-1812) in 1785. Under the influence of his son John (1776-1847), *The Times* was sympathetic to the Tractarians and in 1841 published the *Tamworth Reading Room* letters which Newman wrote anonymously as 'Catholicus' (see Introduction, pp.46ff).

109. 26-7 **the Cherub . . . among the faithless** See Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book V, lines 896-7. The good angel, Abdiel, who opposes Satan's rebellion, is in fact a Seraph, not a Cherub.

110. 16-18 **the writer . . . against thy neighbour."** The passage in *The Times*, Monday 9th June 1851, continues after the words Newman quotes:

To the list for England we would suggest the addition that in consideration of obedience to the orders of their bishops members of Parliament receive a dispensation from performing any of the duties usually attributed to their office.



When this is once understood, no true son of the Church will for the future hesitate to blacken the character of an innocent man in order to embarrass her enemies, or deliberately to break the ninth commandment in order to strengthen the hands of her friends.

112. 14 **ipso facto** ‘by the very fact’.

112. 23-4 **the metropolitan or ordinary** archbishop or bishop.

113. 21 **the Parable . . . of every kind** see Matthew 13:47.

114. n.5 **an *absolutio* . . . for his remains** the absolution prayer said after a Requiem Mass to accompany the blessing of the coffin. According to a work which had just recently been published, at Napoleon’s funeral this absolution ‘was performed by the Cardinal Archbishop, assisted by more than two hundred priests’ (Montholon, General Count, *History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena*, Vol. IV (London, 1847)).

114. n.5 **the passage in the Council** The Council of Trent’s decree on the Sacrament of Penance, Ch.7, speaking of the reservation to the Pope of the absolution of more serious cases of sins, makes the exception: ‘However, this same Church of God has always devoutly upheld that there is no reservation at the hour of death, lest this reservation be the occasion of anyone’s damnation; and therefore any priest can absolve any penitent from all sins and censures’ (see Clarkson, Edwards, Kelly & Welch, *The Church Teaches. Documents of the Church in English Translation*, St.Louis & London, 1955, p.312.).

114. n.5 **Ferrari’s Biblioth.** Lucius Ferraris (d. c.1763), Franciscan canon lawyer; author of *Prompta Bibliotheca canonica, juridica, moralis, theologica, necnon ascetica*,

*polemica, rubricistica, historica (juris Hispanici hodie etiam vocabitur) de principalioribus, et fere omnibus, quae in dies occurrunt, nec penes omnes facile, ac promte reperiri possunt, ex utroque jure, pontificiis constitutionibus conciliis, sacrarum congregationum decretis, sacrae Romanae rotae decisionibus, ac probatissimis et selectissimis auctoribus accurate collecta, adaucta, in unum redacta, et ordine alphabetico congesta, ac in decem tomos distributa, (Madrid, 1746).* The sections on absolution that Newman refers to are in Vol.5, p.29.

**115. 6-7 a zealous Protestant clergyman** The identity of this clergyman and the public meeting in Faversham, Kent, (see *Prepos*, p.117. 33 and p.125. 24) at which he spoke have not proved traceable.

**118. 6ff the newspaper I have mentioned . . .** David Lewis wrote to Newman on 24th July, pointing out that the reference to the alleged price list for sin in *The Times* referred not to St.Gudule but to a notice put up in the Nuncio's house at Madrid. Newman replied:

As to the Times, I quoted the St Gudule case as a *warning* which ought to have startled it, not as the *basis* of what it said. I neither meant nor have said otherwise. It is atrocious that they should not have learned *caution*, by such an experience.  
(*L.D.*, XIV, p.318)

**118. 9-10 "though brayed in a mortar"** See Proverbs 27:22: 'Though thou shouldst bray a fool in the mortar, as when a pestle striketh upon sodden barley, his folly would not be taken from him.' 'Bray' here means 'crush'.

**118. 27 the Legislature of the Nation** In the House of Commons, during the second reading of the Religious Houses Bill, which proposed to prohibit priests from living together in communities, Mr.Richard Spooner, M.P. for North Warwickshire, had made



the absurd allegation about the new Oratory house which Newman now quotes. It was reported in *The Times* of 15th May, 1851. See *L.D.*, XIV, pp.282-3.

120. 7 **shooting box** a hide used by those shooting game

120. fn **When our cottages at Littlemore . . .** 'One day when I entered my house, I found a group of Undergraduates inside. Heads of Houses, as mounted patrols, walked their horses round those poor cottages. Doctors of Divinity dived into the hidden recesses of that private tenement uninvited, and drew domestic conclusions from what they saw there.' (*Apo*, p.228)

121.11 **ocular vouchers** A 'voucher' is a piece of evidence which proves or confirms something, but Newman's use of 'ocular' with it is unusual. He may be quoting *Othello*: when Iago has suggested that Desdemona is unfaithful to him, Othello demands 'give me the ocular proof' (Act 3, Scene iii, line 364). This makes Newman's passage much more ironic, because the credulous Protestants have now become like Othello who has been deceived by Iago into believing what he has in fact never seen. Newman refers directly to *Othello* later on p.248 (see the Editor's Note below). The whole theme of people believing on insubstantial evidence is central to Newman's thought both in *Prepos* and elsewhere and may owe more to Shakespeare, who is much concerned with deception and false appearances, than has been appreciated.

121. 25-7 **had the platform . . . indicted for libel** Newman avoids making an explicit reference to the House of Commons, where statements which might otherwise be actionable for libel are protected by privilege, in case he might be held to be in contempt of the House. He omitted Spooner's name for the same reason. This was all on the advice of James Hope whom he consulted on 11<sup>th</sup> July (see *L.D.*, XIV, p.309).

122. 4-5 . . . *and what were those cells for?*” Newman had already replied to Spooner’s accusation in a letter to *The Morning Chronicle*. He quotes the extract reproduced here and then goes on:

The underground cells, to which Mr.Spooner refers, have been devised in order to economize space for offices commonly attached to a large house. I think they are five in number, but cannot be certain. They run under the kitchen and its neighbourhood. One is to be a larder, another is to be a coal-hole; beer, perhaps wine, may occupy a third. As to the rest, Mr.Spooner ought to know that we have had ideas of baking and brewing; but I cannot pledge myself to him, that such will be their ultimate destination.

Larger subterraneans commonly run under gentlemen’s houses in London; but I never, in thought or word, connected them with practices of cruelty and with inquests, and never asked their owners what use they made of them.

Where is this inquisition into the private matters of Catholics to end? (*L.D.*, XIV, p.283).

Newman’s irony seems to have been lost on Spooner who solemnly read this reply out in the House of Commons as further evidence of popish duplicity, to the jeers of other M.P.s present who evidently had a better sense of humour. Nothing daunted, two years later Spooner went on to claim that Oratorian priests were disguising themselves as workmen so that they could build their underground cells themselves. Newman replied to this through the press, too (See *L.D.*, XV, pp.383-6, 401-2).

122. 25-7 **A gentleman . . . a quarter of a century** Spooner was the maternal uncle of Henry Wilberforce (1807-73), who had been Newman’s pupil at Oriel and became a Catholic and a lifelong friend.



123. 9-10 **foster sons . . . and Wolseys** founders of the various schools and Oxford colleges of which the Oxford Movement converts had been members.

123. 18 *in publico* 'in the public eye'

125. 21 **Mr.Rose** Hugh James Rose (1795-1838), church historian, Editor of the *British Magazine* who published Maitland's article (*Prepos*, p.107).

126. 12 **St.Justin Martyr** (c.100-c.165), lay apologist and martyr; his works are important sources for the belief and practice of the Church in the second century.

126. 9-10 **the speculative church restorer** Newman perhaps has in mind those such as the members of the Camden Society, an association which sought to restore the mediaeval interior architecture and decoration of Anglican churches. Newman saw such antiquarianism as 'unreal' (see *L.D.*, XII, p.222).

128. 7-8 **"Thou shalt not . . . thy neighbour."** Exodus 20:16.

129. 22ff **I allow there are true charges . . .** This section is close in argument and wording to the passage in 'Christ upon the Waters' on this subject (*O.S.*, pp.144-5).

129. 30 **Novatians and Donatists** heretical sects of the 3rd and 4th centuries respectively who held that some sins were too serious to be forgiven and that such offenders should be permanently excluded from the Church. Thus the Church, in their view, consisted only of the pure. A decisive element in Newman's conversion was his reading of Wiseman's article in the *Dublin Review* (August 1839) on the Donatists; see *Apo.*, p.184.

129. 31 **Lollards** followers of the English mediaeval heretic William Wycliffe (c.1324-84).

130. 15 **“many are called, few are chosen;”** Matthew 22:14.

130. 25-7 **an enemy . . . the harvest** See Matthew 13:24-30.

131. 2-5 **“In a great house . . . unto dishonour.”** 2 Timothy 2:20.

131.15 **indefectible** not liable to sin.

131. 30-2 **“it must needs . . . the scandal cometh”** Matthew 18:7. Newman had discussed the subject of scandals in the Church in depth in ‘Christ upon the Waters’, *O.S.*, pp.144ff.

132. 23-4 **“strike the men . . . be drunken.”** a slightly inaccurate version of Matthew 24:49.

134. 16 **married clergymen** Married clergy who were friends of Newman included Samuel Rickards (1796-1865), who was a Fellow at Oriel and after his marriage was Curate in charge at Ulcombe, Kent, and then Vicar of Stowlanglost, Suffolk, where Newman stayed with him in July 1832. Henry Woodgate (1801-74) was a friend of the Newman family who later became Rector of Belbroughton, near Birmingham; Newman was godfather to his eldest daughter. Newman mentions them both in *Apo* (p.64).

134.24 **public prints** newspapers.



**136. 17-8 Teetotalism . . . Temperance** The former is the renunciation of all alcohol; Newman uses the latter in its original meaning of moderation in the drinking of alcohol, though by his time Temperance in fact more usually meant total abstinence. Newman seems to have been aware that this sentence lacked clarity since he altered it when he revised the text (see Textual Appendix (a)).

**136. 22 the world, the flesh, and the devil** See *The Book of Common Prayer* (1662), The Litany: 'From all fornication, and all other deadly sin; and from all the deceits of the world, the flesh, and the devil, Good Lord, deliver us.'

**136. 31-2 the Wesleyan Connexion** See above Note on p.76. 1.

**137. 8-11 disbelieve their own . . . were ordained?** Evangelicals rejected the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. Liberals such as Thomas Arnold and Archbishop Whately rejected the interpretation of the formula in the Visitation of the Sick in the *Book of Common Prayer* as sacramental absolution and denied the priestly nature of Ordination. In the recent Gorham case (1850), an Anglican clergyman who had publicly stated that he did not believe in baptismal regeneration (which the Baptism Service seemed to imply) had been permitted to retain his position.

**137. 12-17 doubt about every part . . . carry them?** These are hesitant Anglo-Catholics. Newman's harshness towards the inconsistencies of this his own former position is also to be found in *Diff*, i, e.g. pp.224-7.

**137. 18-21 who hold that . . . world at all?** These are the Liberals.

**137. 26-7 Torquemada** Tomás de Torquemada (1420-98), chief officer of the Spanish

Inquisition, renowned for his ruthlessness.

137. 27 **Bonner** Edmund Bonner (c.1500-1569), Bishop of London, who 'trimmed' in that he supported Henry VIII against the papacy but later refused to accept the new Prayer Book under Edward VI. He was restored to his see under Mary and took part in the persecution of Protestants.

138. 3 **Union workhouses** institutions in which the destitute were housed at public expense but forced to work, usually in conditions of considerable harshness, for which they became notorious.

138. 22 **Nicolas** one of the seven deacons appointed to assist the apostles in Acts 6:5. He was, erroneously, thought to be the founder of the heretical Nicolaitans condemned in the Book of Revelation 2:15.

138. 22 **Diotrephes** a church leader criticised in 3 John 9-10 because he 'loveth to have the pre-eminence'.

138. 23 **Demas** companion of St.Paul who accused him in 2 Timothy 4:9 of having abandoned him, 'loving this world'.

139. 17-23 **a gentleman of Warwickshire . . . the Blessed Sacrament from them** Newman is referring to the false accusation by Charles Newdegate, M.P., in a speech on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in March 1851, who claimed that some years ago a nun escaped from the convent near his own house at Arbury in Warwickshire and that 'within a week afterwards 15 cwt, of iron stanchions were put to barricade the windows and convert the place into a perfect prison.' This accusation was refuted by John Hardman in a letter to



*Aris's Gazette* in May:

Having instituted a minute enquiry, I am able to assert positively that there *never* was any escape of any inmate from the convent at Atherstone, to which, no doubt, Mr.Newdegate alludes, nor *any attempted* escape. With respect to the barring of the windows, the following are the facts: - In the year 1840, two robberies were effected at the Convent Chapel within a few months of each other, and on the last occasion the Tabernacle, containing the Blessed Sacrament, was carried away. After these robberies, one or two bars were put up to each of five or six lower windows, and the doors were made more secure to prevent a repetition of the burglaries. (*O.A.*, press cutting in scrapbook B2.1)

The nuns at Atherstone were Dominicans. There were Sisters of Mercy at Nottingham and the Order of Notre Dame at Clapham, in South London, against whom false accusations were also made.

140. 5 *animus* hostile spirit.

140. 15ff **The Protestant Tradition must be fed . . .** Cf. *O.S.*, p.156: 'Alas! There is no calumny too gross for the credulity of our countrymen, no imputation on us so monstrous which they will not drink up greedily like water. There is a demand for such fabrications, and there is a consequent supply; our antiquity, our vastness, our strangeness, our successes, our unmoveableness, all require a solution; and the imposter is hailed as a prophet, who will extemporize against us some tale of blood'.

140. 27-8 **Mosheim and Robertson, Jortin and White** See above Notes on pp.100. 2-7; 100. 16-25; 102. 24-8; 103. 7-11 etc.

141. 10-11 **the father of lies** See John 8:44.

142. 24 **Blanco White** See above Note on p. 18. 15.

143. 16-17 **a host of opinions in which it was impossible to acquiesce** White had initially influenced Newman; see *Apo*, pp. 101-2. The growing difference in their views came to a head over the Hampden controversy. White recorded:

In this [*anti-Hampden*] party I found to my great surprise, my dear friend Mr. Newman of Oriel. As he had been one of the annual Petitioners to Parliament for Catholic Emancipation, his sudden union with the most violent bigots was inexplicable to me. . . . While stating these facts my heart feels a pang at the recollection of the affectionate and mutual friendship between that excellent man and myself; a friendship which his principle of Orthodoxy would not allow to continue in regard to one, whom he now regards as inevitably doomed to eternal perdition. Such is the venomous character of Orthodoxy. What mischief must it create in a bad heart and narrow mind, when it can work so effectually for evil, in one of the most benevolent bosoms, and one of the ablest minds – in the amiable, the intellectual, the refined John Henry Newman! . . . Mr. Newman however continued on terms of intimacy with me after I had voted against his candidate. (Letter to the Rev. John Hamilton Thom, begun Aug 8, finished Aug 21, 1839, Thom, J.H. (ed), *The Life of the Rev. J.B. White, written by himself with portions of his correspondence* (3 vols, London, 1845), iii, 131)

White was perceptive about Newman, noting as early as 1836 that ‘The theological principles of Newman . . . must lead every sensible and consistent man to the Church of Rome’ (ibid, ii, p.231).

144. 2 **his Life** See above.



144. 5-6 **"The Poor Man's Preservative against Popery"** (London, 1825)

144. 6 **if I mistake not** Newman is correct.

144. 2-3 **a school of infidelity arose in Protestant England** Newman is referring to Deists such as Matthew Tindal (1657-1733), Charles Blount (1654-93) and Anthony Collins (1676-1729) whose rationalist views aroused much controversy.

146. 4 **Voltaire came over here** (1694-1778), French philosopher, man of letters and wit; famous for his freethinking and anti-clericalism; his real name was François Marie Arouet. He spent the years 1726-9 in exile in England where he was influenced by Deist thinkers such as Tindal and Blount. In his early teens Newman was briefly tempted to infidelity by writers such as Voltaire: 'I recollect copying out some French verses, perhaps Voltaire's, against the immortality of the soul, and saying to myself something like "How dreadful, but how plausible!"'(*Apo.*, 60).

148. 13 **forget Jerusalem** a reference to the cry of the psalmist exiled in Babylon, 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten' (Ps 136:5).

149. 30 **Vespers and Benediction** Vespers is the canonical evening prayer of the Church, consisting of psalms and antiphons, frequently combined as here with the popular devotional service of veneration of the Blessed Sacrament.

150. 23 **saying office** reciting the canonical 'hours' of prayer, Matins, Lauds, Vespers etc., obligatory for clerics.

151. 16 **a counting-house** the accounts department of a commercial company

153. 4 **Jansenist theology** See above Note on p. 19. 3.

153. n.4 **“Evidences”** White, J.B., *Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism* (1825).

153. n.5 **a Deist** a proponent of ‘Natural Religion’, believing in a Creator God but not in Revelation, Providence or, usually, a future life. See also above Note on p.47. 26.

153. n.6 **Doblado’s Letters** See above Note on p. 18. 15.

154. n.6 **the “Priests’ Protection Society”** an association of former Catholic priests who had converted to Protestantism and encouraged others to do likewise.

156. 20-1 **a judgment . . . upon the country** i.e. the invasion by the French under Napoleon.

156. 21-5 **The Jesuits . . . expelled by the government** in 1767 by order of the Count of Aranda, chief Minister of Charles III (1716-1788) who was persuaded that the Jesuits claimed to have proof that he was illegitimate.

156. n.3 **the South** i.e. Southern Europe, especially the Latin races, traditionally seen by the English as prone to extremes of romantic passion.

157. 7 **seculars** diocesan priests, as opposed to members of religious orders (‘regulars’).

157. n.2 **Laborde, voll.ii** Alexander de Laborde, *A View of Spain, Comprising a*



*Descriptive Itinerary of Each province and a General Statistical Account of the Country*, 5 vols., (London, 1809). For Seville, see Vol.ii, pp.44ff. Statistics on the clergy are given in Vol.v, pp.14ff.

158. n.3 **the formal Parliamentary view of nuns** See below Note on p.363. 12-3.

159. 13 **Ciocci** Raffaele Ciocci, former Benedictine and Cistercian monk turned anti-Catholic polemicist; author of *A Narrative of Iniquities and Barbarities practised at Rome in the nineteenth century* (1843), *Catholic Injustice* (1845) and *Disclosures of Jesuitism in Brighton* (1852). While Newman was living at Santa Croce in Rome in 1847 he wrote to his sister Jemima:

I don't know whether you ever heard of a man called Ciocci or the like - a poor man who was a Cistercian novice and turned Protestant - I have only just heard of him - but he has been made much of in the speeches at Exeter Hall, and has written a book, which (I believe) has gone through many editions, in which he tells all manner of stories of Sta Croce, which was his monastery, and poor St Eusebio, the Jesuit Retreat House, which lies before us, which it makes me laugh to think of, when I see the monks here or grope up the staircase in the dark. They attempted to murder him here, he says, and St Eusebio is full of trap doors in the bed rooms. I don't know which are the most incongruous agents in such fee-fam-fum doings, the humdrum Cistercians with whom we live, or the plodding, methodical, unromantic Jesuits. (*L.D.*, Vol.XII, p.103)

159. 14 **Achilli** see Introduction pp.19ff.

160. 22 **a wild-beast-show** such as the famous one of Van Amberg; see below Note on p.201. 20.

161. 4-5 **Dr.Faustus, the printer** Johann Fust or Faust (c. 1400-1466) was a German moneylender and printer who obtained some of Gutenberg's printing equipment and published books. He has no connection (though he was often confused) with the semi-legendary scholar Dr Johann Faust (b.?1480) who was said to have sold his soul to the devil to gain knowledge and was the subject of numerous stories, including Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (1604).

161. 5-6 **and (as the nursery rhyme goes) schoolmaster** 'Doctor Faustus was a good man, / He whipped his scholars now and then; / When he whipped them he made them dance / Out of Scotland into France, / Out of France into Spain, / And then he whipped them back again.' (Opie, I. and P.(ed), *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (Oxford, 1951), p.168)

163. 7-8 **a Penitentiary** a refuge for former prostitutes who wish to reform their lives.

163. 27 **Maria Monk** *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*, first published in New York in 1836 and republished in England in 1851. 'Contemporary scholarship supports Newman's critical evaluations of these populist specimens of Victorian anti-Catholicism.... Maria Monk was a hapless prostitute who was used and abused by a group of anti-Catholic conspirators - her best-seller was pure fabrication' (Cere, Daniel, 'Newman, Religious Prejudice and Anti-Catholicism', *The Newman Rambler* (Fall, Winter 1998-9), p18), citing J.Franchot, *Roads to Rome: the Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (1994). For a full account of the whole story of Maria Monk, see Delany, J. Bernard, O.P., *The Real Maria Monk* (<http://www.ewtn.com/library/ANSWERS/MARIAMNK.TXT>).

165. 25 **affidavit** a written statement confirmed by oath for use as evidence in a court of



law.

166. **without impropriety** A number of scenes in the work are pornographic. Wolffe comments: 'Maria Monk represented a cultural milieu which, in the area of sexuality, had some points of contact with evangelicalism but had a fundamentally different focus, owing more to pornography and a popular fascination with mystery and violent crime than to religion.' (op.cit., pp.125-6)

166. 18-19 **"out of the abundance . . . the mouth speaketh."** Luke 6.45.

166. 27 **"holding up pure hands"** See 1 Tim 2:8.

167. 4 **"full within . . . all filthiness":** Matthew 23:27; Jesus' description of the hypocrisy of the Pharisees.

167. 15-17 **an able diplomatist . . . disguise men's thoughts** Newman is mistaken; the saying actually comes from Voltaire: 'Ils ne se servent de la pensée que pour autoriser leurs injustices, et n'emploient les paroles que pour déguiser leurs pensées' [Men use thought only to justify their wrong-doings, and words only to disguise their thoughts] in his *Dialogue XIV, Le Chapon et de la Poularde* (1673).

169. 20 **the lattice-work of the confessional** the metal grille separating the penitent from the priest hearing confession.

169. 22 **recreation** the period when a religious community meet informally for conversation and relaxation.

173. 29 the “cap” an instrument of torture resembling a helmet put over the victim’s head.

174. 7 ‘Search the Scriptures:’ John 5:39.

174. 23-4 rumours concerning some of the distributors Newman may be referring to the bookshops where *Maria Monk* was on sale. A contemporary letter to a newspaper, signed ‘E.P.W.’, relates:

I was passing today through a street near the Strand, when my eye was caught by a large placard standing in a shop window, and drawing attention to the ‘Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, price 1s.’ Thinking that I should find among other books in the shop window, nothing but violent attacks on our holy Church and religion, I cast my eye over the titles of the books which were on sale, and I grieve to say that *they were, one and all, without exception, of such a disgusting and obscene nature, that I cannot quote them, for fear of shocking the eyes or the ears of your readers.*

Surely, Sir, the old proverb holds true, no less of books than of men, ‘Noscitur a sociis;’ ‘You may judge a book from its companions.’

(*O.A.*, unsourced press cutting in scrapbook B2.1)

174. 27-30 A nunnery . . . the Cathedral See Paz, op.cit. p.299.

175. 22 Jeffreys [sic] William Thomas Jefferys claimed in 1849 that he had been held against his will in Mount St.Bernard’s Cistercian Monastery near Whitwick, Leicestershire. His story was published in *The Protestant Watchman of the Midland District* and as a pamphlet. The Cistercians denied the truth of Jefferys’ story but were not believed, and local colliers threatened to blow up the monastery and burn down a local



Catholic school. Meanwhile, the editor of the *Watchman*, the Birmingham anti-Catholic activist Thomas Ragg, had become suspicious of Jefferys' veracity and on further investigation concluded that he was a fraud. Ragg led a party to accompany Jefferys to the monastery where, despite the presence of a large and excited anti-Catholic crowd, his ignorance of the building was soon evident, and he broke down. He ended up serving three months in Stafford prison. See *A Full Report of a most Extraordinary Investigation which took place on Tuesday, June 26, 1849, at Mount St. Bernard Monastery, Leicestershire*, 6th ed. (Birmingham, 1849). D.G.Paz gives a useful account of this episode (op.cit, p.122-3).

175. 22 **Teodore** 'John Victor Teodor, a former priest, and his colleagues Chylinski and Dobrogost claimed to be Polish nationalists hounded into England by Russian, Prussian, and Austrian forces; they found that they could make a living by pandering to the Evangelicals, lecturing, and performing, "in all its pomp, the Romish Mass" to paying customers ("Wafer Gods" sold at the door for 1d. each).' (Paz, op.cit., p.26, who adds in a footnote that they may have been confidence men.)

176. 9 **Mr.Steimnitz** [sic] Andrew Steinmetz (1816-1877); during a varied career he spent a year in the Jesuit novitiate at Stonyhurst from 1838-9. The book based on his experiences which Newman refers to was *The Novitiate, or A Year among the English Jesuits, A Personal Narrative* (1846, 3rd edn.1850); he also wrote a *History of the Jesuits* (1848). Later works included *The Romance of Duelling in All Times and Countries* (1868) and *The Gaming Table, Its Votaries and Victims in All Times and Countries* (1870).

176. 26-7 "they say . . . Name's sake." Matthew 5:11.

179. 4-5 **the Queen's Colleges** There was no university in Ireland open to Irish Catholics,

since Trinity College, Dublin, was, like Oxford and Cambridge, only open to Protestants. In 1845 the government of Sir Robert Peel had decided to establish a non-denominational Queen's University with colleges in various parts of Ireland, thus attempting to side-step the religious question by providing only secular university education for Irish Catholics. The majority of the Irish bishops opposed the plan, as did the Pope who suggested instead the founding of a Catholic university, the project in which Newman was to become involved as Rector.

179. n.1 *Tablet* Newspaper, May 31, 1851 'Mixed Education. Declaration of the Catholic clergy of Manchester and Salford on the proposed instructions for the drafts of a Bill for local education for the municipal borough of Manchester and Salford.' [signed] W.Turner, V.G., St.Austin's, [and other clergy]. (Vol.XII, no.581, p.338)

180. 18 **burning Bishops . . . in effigy?** Such burnings had been a prominent feature of the anti-Catholic demonstrations during the 'Papal Aggression' disturbances. Burning an effigy of the Pope was a regular feature of 5<sup>th</sup> November Bonfire Night celebrations and indeed continues to be so today in those held in Lewes, Sussex.

181. 6 **I cannot make any reference in print** Newman had written to David Lewis asking him to look in the Dublin newspaper the *Standard* for April 1836 for an account of this incident, but Lewis was unable to find the passage (see *L.D.*, xiv, p.301). However, someone else (unknown) made him a copy of the account in the *Dublin Annals* (*O.A.*, documents D5 16).

181. 6 **I recollect well** Newman commented to Lewis about the *Standard's* 'lament over the unhorsing of King William) that 'I thought at the time [it was] less Protestant than became an opponent of the *idolatry* of Rome' (*L.D.*, loc.cit.).



181. 8 **one night** 8th April 1836.

181. 11 **Dagon** in the Bible, the image of the god Dagon who was worshipped by the Philistines was found broken in pieces on the ground after the captured Ark of the Covenant had been placed in his temple. See Judges 16:23 and 1 Samuel 5:2ff. Newman's use of this Biblical parallel is deliberately provocative since it subtly implies that Protestants are guilty of the same kind of idol-worship as the Philistines.

181. 14 **how they spoke . . . and his legs** Newman is quoting from the account he had been sent (see above Note on p.181.6).

181. 17-8 **monsters described in the Apocalypse** See Revelation 13. The identification of the two beasts with various Popes or other prominent Catholics was common in anti-Catholic polemic.

181. 22-3 **persons who refused . . . fidelity to James** the non-jurors, the nine Anglican bishops and four hundred clergy who refused to swear the Oath of Allegiance to William and Mary after the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 and were ejected from their sees and livings as a result. They included among them a number of the more Catholic-minded divines from whose writings Newman had tried to build an Anglican theology (see above Note on p. 86. 17).

182. 16-18 **matter for . . . Reformation tracts** One of the standard Protestant charges against Catholicism was that it countenanced the breaking of oaths, especially by means of convoluted casuistry, e.g. in *The Anti-Maynooth Petition. A Tract for the Times by a delegate to the Anti-Maynooth Conference* (London and Bath, 1845); see Norman, op.cit.,

183. 11-13 **that great king . . . “the man.”** See 2 Samuel 12. When King David acquired the wife of Uriah the Hittite by getting him killed in battle, the prophet Samuel brought home to the King his crime by telling him a parable about a poor man who ‘had nothing at all but one little ewe lamb’ which was then taken from him by a rich man. David was angry with this imaginary rich thief, and then Samuel told him ‘You are the man’. David saw the parallel with his own actions and repented. Newman is thus implying that Protestants should similarly recognise the hypocrisy of their accusing Catholics of persecution when they do it themselves.

184. 17 **Dr.Whately** Richard Whately (1787-1863) had been a Fellow of Oriel when Newman was first elected Fellow:

I owe him a great deal. He was a man of generous and warm heart. He was particularly loyal to his friends, . . . While I was still awkward and timid in 1822, he took me by the hand, and acted the part to me of a gentle and encouraging instructor. He emphatically opened my mind and taught me to use my reason. . . . [From 1826] his hold on my mind gradually relaxed. He had done his work towards me or nearly so, when he had taught me to see with my own eyes and to walk with my own feet. . . . When I was diverging from him (which he did not like), I thought of dedicating my first book to him, in words to the effect that he had not only taught me think, but to think for myself. . . . From the time he left [Oxford], I have always felt a real affection for what I must call his memory; for thenceforward he made himself dead to me. My reason told me that it was impossible that we could have got on together longer; yet I loved him too much to bid him farewell without pain. After a few years had passed, I began to believe that his influence on me in a higher respect than intellectual advance, (I will not say



through his fault,) had not been satisfactory. (*Apo.*, pp.103-4)

184. n.2 **Whately on Romanism** Whately, R., *Errors of Romanism* (1830).

186. 4-5 **Protestants have felt it right and just . . .** Newman is writing out of his own experience here. See *L.D.*, vol.xxxi, pp.8\*-10\* to his sister Jemima on the ways in which she had snubbed him after his conversion.

186. 18-9 **cut off (as they say) to a shilling** i.e. disinherited; the expression is proverbial.

186. 32 **Drummondite** another name for the Irvingites (see above note on p.76), after Henry Drummond (1786-1860), banker and member of Parliament, who was a founder member of this sect with Irving. He was a noted anti-Catholic and used his parliamentary privilege to slander Catholic clergy (see below p.206).

186. 32 **Plymouth-Brother** the Plymouth Brethren were founded in 1827 by John Darby (1800-82), a former Church of Ireland minister, and Edward Cronin, a former Catholic. Believing that all the existing Christian churches were corrupt, the Brethren lived in small, exclusive communities. Newman's brother Francis was a member for a while.

186. 33 **Mormonite** The Mormons were founded in America in 1836 by Joseph Smith. By 1851 they had made their great trek to Utah and founded Salt Lake City. They were best known for their practice of polygamy.

187. 1 **the Agapemone** 'Proper name of an association of men and women established at Spaxton in Somerset by the Rev.Henry James Prince; a similar establishment conducted by his successor, the Rev. John Hugh Smyth-Pigott, at Clapton, London. Also *gen.*

establishment of this kind, an abode-of-love; esp. with unfavourable implication' (O.E.D). The implication was that the members of this sect practised sexual promiscuity among themselves. See Introduction p.87.

**187. 1-5 I would rather see . . . the slave of a priest** This passage echoes an anti-Catholic speech of which Newman kept a newspaper cutting (*O.A.*, scrapbook B2). Rev. Mr. Greig speaking at a meeting of the masters of Orange lodges was reported as saying that:

The papists ought not to have the same privileges as other religious sects. Even Infidels and Atheists were better than the papists, as they could do no harm, whilst the Roman Catholics surrendered their brains to the priests, and they were not fit subjects for liberty.

**187. 5-17 And then the way . . . ungrateful to his father** This passage echoes one in Newman's article 'Private Judgment' which appeared in the *British Magazine* in July 1841:

Not on extraordinary occasions only, but as a matter of course, whenever the news of a conversion to Romanism, or to Irvingism, is brought to us, we say, one and all of us, "No wonder, such a one has lived so long abroad;" or, "he is of such a very imaginative turn;" or, "he is so excitable and odd;" or, "what could he do? All his family turned;" or, "it was a re-action in consequence of an injudicious education;" or, "trade makes men cold," or "a little learning makes them shallow in their religion." (*Ess.*, II, p.339)

See also Introduction, pp.42ff.

**189. 20ff As to domestic servants . . .** e.g. Ragg's *Protestant Watchman* claimed that 'Catholic servants repeat family secrets in the confessional and sprinkle holy water on



children when their employers' backs are turned' (*Protestant Watchmen*, No.3 (May 1849), p.38 and No.8 (Oct.1849), pp.95-96; cited in Paz, op.cit. p.122). Newman commented on the 'dreadful trial on poor girls who are looking out for service – it quite distresses one to convert them, for this reason – It is throwing all kinds of obstacles in their way – they don't get places – they don't get married – It is a dreadful problem how to provide for them.' (*L.D.*, xiii, p.103.)

191. 25 **the workshops and manufacturies** The letter writer 'E.P.W.' (see above Note on l. 174. 23-4) recorded:

The name of 'Maria Monk' has, doubtless, been dinned enough into the ears of your Catholic readers by their Protestant friends: indeed with the latter class of religionists, it has become quite a 'household word;' and the 'awful disclosures' of priestly tyranny and debauchery, which that book contains, are daily thrown in the teeth of our poor Catholic brethren, (as I can testify from personal acquaintance,) in order to tempt them to abandon their most holy faith. I know a case where a young woman, a recent convert, has daily to sit and hear the vile obscenities and falsehoods of this book read aloud during the hours of work, for her special edification, by the young Protestant women who are employed in the same shop. (op.cit.)

192. 9-10 **in Coventry:** a saying taken from the dislike of the citizens of Coventry for soldiers and the taboo they consequently placed upon women seen associating with them. Thus when someone is 'sent to Coventry' no notice is taken of him; he is made to feel that he is in disgrace by no-one having any dealings with him.

192. 11-13 **malicious and monstrous tales . . . readily believed** This was Newman's own experience; he had already had to deny rumours that he had left the priesthood, got

married, lost his faith etc. The rumours recurred for many years. See, e.g., *L.D.*, xiii, pp.71-2; xx, 208-9; xxv, 225.

192. 18-9 **Wesleyan Connection** See above Note on p.76. 1.

193. 15-7 **the Catholics of Italy . . . in London** The *Dublin Review* for September 1851 had a full discussion of this controversy: 'The moralities of legislation: the "Italian Church"' (Vol.26, pp.218-256) by C.W.Russell and Cardinal Wiseman. London Italians had to wait until 1863 before they had a church for themselves, St.Peter's, in Hatton Garden (now Clerkenwell Road), E.C.1.

193. 18-9 **Board of Woods and Forests** the statutory body in charge of such areas.

193. 24 **petitions** Petitions to Parliament were a tactic much used by the anti-Catholic organisations. 'Parliament in 1851 received 1,686 petitions with 264,864 signatures protesting Roman Catholic encroachments, 28 petitions with 5,225 signatures praying for the passage of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and 2,541 petitions with 756,578 signatures praying that the penalties for violation of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill be made more stringent.' (Paz, op.cit. p.42.)

194. 1 **The Court of Aldermen** the assembly of senior councillors of the City of London (see above Note on p.64. 4).

194. 1 **the Common Council** the administrative body of the City of London.

194. 2 **the City Companies** the corporations, originally representing mediaeval trade guilds, now of senior London businessmen.



194. 3 **the Inns of Court** See above Note on p.87. 32..

194. 3 **the Vestries** parish councils.

194. 22-4 **a proposal . . . and the Pope** An Act to establish official diplomatic relations with the Pope was passed by Parliament in 1848 but it contained the proviso that the papal ambassador could not be a priest. This was unacceptable to Rome, and so the plan failed.

195. 17 **the Penal Bill** the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.

195. 19-20ff **words . . . imputed to the Prime Minister** No such reference by Russell to Newman's sermon 'Christ Upon the Waters' (*O.S.*, pp.121-62) appears in any of his speeches in the House of Commons recorded in *Hansard*. The phrases 'imputed to' and 'It appears that' suggest some uncertainty on Newman's part. When the sermon was reprinted in the 1870 edition of *O.S.* he appended a selection of anti-Catholic press extracts so that at that distance of time 'the allusions made in them may be intelligible to the general reader.' However, the only words of Lord Russell quoted are from his letter to the Bishop of Durham published in *The Times* on 4<sup>th</sup> November, in which there is no reference to the sermon. The sermon was widely attacked. *The Times* (30<sup>th</sup> October) misrepresented Newman as having compared the newly installed Bishop Ullathorne (at whose enthronement the sermon was preached) to Christ risen from the tomb, and Dean Tait of Carlisle accused Newman of blasphemy. Even when Newman got him to admit that the *Times* version was false, Tait refused to withdraw the charge (see *L.D.*, xiv, pp.140-1, 151-2, 159-9).

195. 24 **his party and his politics** Newman had opposed the Whigs since their plans to

reform the Church of England which were a catalyst for the start of the Oxford Movement.

See *Apo*, p.123.

195. 33 **preached at Chad's last October** The occasion was the installation, in St.Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, of Willaim Bernard Ullathorne (1806-89) as first Bishop of Birmingham on 27<sup>th</sup> October 1850.

196. 3-5 **Catholics exercising . . . not a syllable** 'She [the Church] claims, she seeks, she desires no temporal, no secular station; she meddles not with Cæsar or the things of Cæsar; she obeys him in her place, but she is independent of him. Her strength is in her God; her rule is over the souls of men; her glory is their willing submission and loving loyalty.' (*O.S.*, p.137).

196. 17-9 **Such a growth of Catholicism . . . I certainly predicted** 'We love you, O men of this generation, but we fear you not. Understand well and lay it to heart, that we will do the work of God and fulfil our mission, with your consent, if we can get it, but, in spite of you, if we cannot. You cannot touch us except in a way of which you do not dream, by the arm of force; nor we we dream of asking for more than that which the Apostle claimed, freedom of speech, "an open door," which, through God's grace, will be "evident," though there may be "many adversaries." We do but wish to suddue you by appeals to your reason and to your heart; give us but a fair field and due time, and we hope to gain our point. I do not say that we shall gain it in this generation; I do not say that we shall gain it without our own suffering; but we look to the future, and we do not look at ourselves.' (*ibid*, p.160)

197. 4 **ultramontanes** supporters of an extreme interpretation of the powers of the Papacy. The word comes from the French term for those who looked 'beyond the



mountains' (i.e. the Alps) to Italy for control of the church by Rome. Those who favoured more power being exercised by the local church were in contrast termed 'Cisalpine'. In England before Catholic Emancipation the Cisalpine Club of laymen had favoured compromise with the government and had been involved in fierce controversies with the opposing party led by Bishop Milner. It is significant that Newman here assumes that 'ultramontane' is a derogatory term.

**197. 9 Popish plot** the alleged Catholic plot against the government invented by Titus Oates (1649-1705) which was the occasion of much anti-Catholic agitation in 1678. Oates was later revealed as a fraud and his entire plot as a fiction.

**197. 26-8 the deportation suggested . . . proposed by another** During a debate in the House of Commons on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, W.Miles, M.P., put forward an amendment that the penalty for a Catholic bishop who used a territorial title should be deportation from the United Kingdom. Sir George Grey, M.P., criticised this as being ineffective since the offender could re-enter the country again immediately, and he proposed that transportation (i.e. to Australia) was the only effective penalty. Colonel Sibthorpe M.P. proposed an amendment that the £100 fine proposed in the Bill be raised to £500. In the same speech Sibthorpe had also proposed that, after the payment of the fine, an offender 'should be banished from the United Kingdom during the period of his natural life.' These amendments were all rejected; no fines were ever paid since no-one was ever prosecuted under the Act.

**197. fn.3 Charles the Second, ch.67** Hume, David, *The History of Great Britain, vol 1, Containing the Commonwealth and the Reigns of Charles II and James II* (London, 1757) revised 1759.

198. 1-2 **the loyal address of the Protestant Bishops** For a relevant extract, see *O.S.*, p.322.

198. 8 **Bridgewater Treatise** Francis Henry Egerton (1756-1828), 8th Earl of Bridgewater, left £8,000 to be paid to the authors of the best treatises on the power and wisdom of God as manifested in creation. There were eight such treatises published, 1833-40.

198. 8-9 **Warburton Lecture** annual lectures named after William Warburton (1698-1779), Anglican Bishop of Gloucester, founded 'to prove the truth of Revealed Religion in general, and of the Christian in particular, from the completion of the prophecies in the Old and New Testaments, which relate to the Christian Church, especially to the apostasy of Papal Rome' (*Ess.*, ii, p.130). Newman went on to comment:

It is only surprising that such a foundation has not done more in behalf of its object. In matter of fact, after three lectures had passed in succession, a fourth could not be found, and for some time there was a suspension of the lecture. Mr.Davison [*an earlier Warburton lecturer*] has but one discourse on the subject, and an able and respected writer, whose Lectures have just appeared [*Archdeacon Lyall*], does not bestow upon us even one.'

See also above Note on p.13.

198. 16-7 **Lazarus's for the rich man's crumbs** See Luke 16: 19-31.

199. 22-3 **the other day, when the late agitation began** the autumn of 1850 when the Papal Aggression crisis broke.

200. 3-4 **a drawing-room window** The drawing-room was usually on the first floor of a



house.

200. 15-7 **Cardinal Wiseman . . . in his late Appeal to the English people** *An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the subject of the Catholic Hierarchy*, London, 1850 (see Introduction p.13).

200. 18-9 **one of the most distinguished Protestant theologians of the day** William Palmer (1803-85) of Worcester College, Oxford; his pamphlets, *Letters to N.Wiseman, D.D., calling himself Bishop of Melipotamos*, had been published in 1841-2.

201. 15 **Laud** William Laud (1573-1645), Archbishop of Canterbury under Charles I; he attempted to impose a 'high church' uniformity in worship and discipline on the Church of England but was opposed by the Puritans in Parliament and executed on the charge of treason. As an Anglican, Newman had seen him as one of the great English divines whose writings provided the basis for an Anglican theology (see, e.g., *D.A.*, 17ff.). His comment here, therefore, that, along with other great divines, such as Taylor, Stillingfleet and Ussher, Laud had the same Protestant arrogance towards Catholics is a critique of his former position.

201. 15 **Taylor** See above Note on p. 86. 17.

201. 15 **Stillingfleet** Edward Stillingfleet (1635-99), Bishop of Worcester and popular preacher and writer.

201. 15 **Ussher** James Ussher (1581-1656), Anglican Archbishop of Armagh and author of numerous theological and historical works.

201. 20 **Van Amberg** Isaac Van Amburgh (or Van Amberg) (c.1805-65), American circus animal trainer. He visited Europe with his menagerie, performing at Drury Lane in 1838-9 where Queen Victoria went to see him six times in January and February 1839.

203. fn.4 **Letters on the Church . . .** *Letters on the Church of England by an Episcopalian* (1826). ‘In the year 1826, in the course of a walk he [Whately] said much to me about a work then just published, called “Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian.” He said that it would make my blood boil. It was certainly a most powerful composition. . . . It was ascribed at once to Whately; I gave eager expression to the contrary opinion; but I found the belief of Oxford in the affirmative to be too strong for me; rightly or wrongly I yielded to the general voice; and I have never heard, then or since, of any disclaimer of authorship on the part of Dr. Whately.’ (*Apo.*, p.104). However, Newman’s 1872 footnote reflects the later view that Whately’s authorship was denied by him.

203. 19 **quack** pretended doctor, particularly one who makes extravagant claims to unorthodox cures.

205. 13 **Michaelmas last** 29th September, Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, 1850, the date on which the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy had been announced (see Introduction, pp.11ff).

205. 22 **the first judge of the land . . . Cardinal Wiseman’s hat** Lord Chancellor Cottenham, who in a speech at a Mansion House dinner on 9th November 1850 declared:

Considering the language of the document to which I refer [Wiseman’s pastoral ‘From out the Flaminian Gate’], and considering the truly Romish construction which some attempt to put upon the oath of supremacy, it would seem as if some were acting in anticipation of the fulfilment of an ancient prophecy, which presents



a cardinal's cap as equal to the crown of the Queen of England. If such be anticipated, I answer them in the language of Gloster: -

“Under our feet we'll stamp thy Cardinal's hat,

In spite of Pope, or dignities of Church.”

(*O.S.*, p.320, where Newman adds the footnote: ‘The Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords. “His speech in allusion to the Cardinal's hat had been much adverted to; he had made this allusion for the reason that he had been supposed to be guilty of disrespect to the Cardinal, and he had no wish to offer an affront to a person in his situation.”)

205. 28-9 **mock processions to ridicule, and bonfires to burn** See *ibid.*, pp.326-7.

206. 5-6 **the buckram nuns of Warwickshre, Nottingham and Clapham** Buckram is a coarse linen stiffened with paste, but its meaning here is the proverbial one of ‘non-existent’ as in Falstaff's claim that he was attacked by ‘four rogues in buckram’ in Henry IV Part I, Act II, sc.iv. Newman is thus referring to the non-existent escaping nuns of the M.P. Charles Newdegate's accusation and elsewhere. See above Note on p.139. 17ff.

206 6-7 **the dungeons of Edgbaston** See above, note on p.122. 4-5.

p.206. 7-8 **the sin-table of St.Gudule's** See *Prepos* pp.115-118.

206. 8-15 **the outrageous language ... seducing young women** Henry Drummond, M.P. (see above Note on p.186), in the course of a speech in the House of Commons on 7th February 1851, said, referring to Fr.Frederick Faber, the superior of the London Oratory, ‘that fellow Faber went about the country seducing young women’. Faber could not sue for slander because parliamentary privilege protected Drummond. Newman had advised

Faber that he would have to ignore it for this reason (see *L.D.*, xiv, p.210). However, the words were omitted from *Hansard*, the official publication of Parliament's proceedings and from newspaper reports of the speech for fear of libel. Hence Newman's qualifying phrase, 'as the words came to the ears of those present'. Newman refers to the House of Commons as 'a place I must not name' in case his quotation of Drummond's remark might lay him open to a charge of contempt of parliamentary privilege.

206. 22 **the popular publication** the magazine *Punch*, which played a leading rôle in the 'Papal Aggression' press campaign.

206. 22 **its "sweetness" and its "fatness"** See Judges 8:8ff where Jotham tells a parable about how the trees want to appoint a king, but the olive says 'Shall I leave my fatness, by which gods and men are honoured?' and the figtree says 'Shall I leave my sweetness and my good fruit?' and only the bramble is willing to be king.

207. fn.5 ***Dublin Review* for July, 1850** Vol.28, pp.469-511, 'Dr.Achilli'. This was Wiseman's article, from which Newman took all the facts for his accusation against Achilli; see Introduction pp.20.

207. fn.5 **"Authentic Brief Sketch of the Life . . ."** This was the pamphlet version of Wiseman's article, published by Thomas Richardson (1797-1875) who was also the publisher of the *Dublin Review* and numerous other Catholic works. See *L.D.*, XIV, p.352.

208. n.6. ***The paragraphs omitted ...*** : For these paragraphs, see Textual Appendix 1, p.275.



210. 8-9 **Dr.Balmez** Jaime Luciano Balmez (1810-48), Spanish philosopher, author of *El Protestantismo comparado con el Catolicismo*, 4 vols, 1842-4. Newman quotes this in the English translation, *Protestantism and Catholicity, compared in their Effects on the Civilization of Europe*, trans. C.J.Handford and R.Kershaw (London, 1849). The first extract Newman quotes (ll.9-14) is also used in the *Dublin Review* article he cites in footnote 3 (see below, Note on p. 211. n.3), p.457. He has changed 'order' in the original passage to 'pronounce' (l.10). The second extract (ll.14-22) is not in the *Dublin Review* article. While he was preparing this Lecture, Newman wrote to F.W.Faber asking, 'Can you get me, or tell me, where to look for information about the *Roman* Inquisition. I half distrust Balmez.' (*L.D.*, xiv, p.327)

210. 27 **Ranke** Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), German Lutheran ecclesiastical historian, Professor at Berlin, best known for his history of the Popes, *Die römischen Päpste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat* (3 vols, 1834-6) and his history of the Reformation *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (6 vols 1839-47). The *Dublin Review* article which Newman is using here has a lengthy quotation from Ranke about how the Spanish Inquisition 'was a royal tribunal' and concluding 'in its nature and its object, it was a purely political institute' (pp.453-4). The footnote cites *Fürsten un Völker der Sudl. Europ.* II., p.242ff.

210. 28 **Guizot** See above Note on p. 15. 1. The *Dublin Review* article says, 'The same view is confined by Guizot, Lenormant and by the well-known German historian, Leo' (p.454), without giving any references.

210. n.2 **Life of St.Philip Neri** *The Life of St.Philip Neri, Apostle of Rome, and Founder of the Congregation of the Oratory*, Vol.I (London, 1849). The 'Advertisement', by F.W.Faber, states: 'The original, of which the present volume is a translation, is the

enlarged and corrected edition of Father Bacci's Life of St.Philip, published in Rome, by Marini, in 1837.' The translation was by Faber and others.

211. n.3 **an able article in the Dublin Review, June 1850** Vol.XXVII, pp.421-469. This was a review by Thomas Grant (1816-70, Bishop of Southwark) and C.W.Russell (1812-80, President of St.Patrick's College, Maynooth) of Achilli's *History of the Inquisition, from its Establishment to the Present Time, with an Account of its Procedure and Narratives of its Victims*, (London, 1850).

211. n.4. **Gieseler** Johann Karl Ludwig Giesler (1792-1854), German Protestant ecclesiastical historian; the quotation is from his *Lehrbruch der Kirchengeschichte*, translated into English by S.Davidson and J.W.Hull as *A Compendium of English History* (5 volumes, 1846-55) which became a standard work.

213. 28 **the Court of Queen's Bench** a Division of the High Court of Justice, the supreme court of judicature of England.

213. n.5 **Inquisition** Achilli, Giovanni Giacinto, *Dealings with the Inquisition; or, Papal Rome, her priests, and her Jesuits. With important disclosures*, (London, 1851).

214. 8-10 **a party . . . the Pontifical government?** Achilli had been involved in the republican movement of 1848 which seized power in Rome and briefly set up a republic.

214. 19 **a popular writer** William Hone (1780-1842), bookseller and author of a number of popular political lampoons. The reference is to his *The Form of Prayer ... for the happy deliverance of Her Majesty Queen Caroline*, (London, 1820).



214. 20 **the King's Bench** the same as the Queen's Bench (see above Note on p.213. 28); this was during the reign of a king, George IV.

214. 24 **an unbeliever in Christianity** Richard Carlile (1790-1843), freethinker, repeatedly imprisoned for publishing anti-religious and seditious literature; he became celebrated by radicals as a martyr for the liberty of the press.

214. 29 **Hone and Carlyle** See above Notes on p.214.20 and 24. (Newman has mis-spelt Carlile's name.)

214. 32 **Unitarian worship was a legal offence . .** The Toleration Act of 1689 had only been extended to Unitarians by the Act of 1813, though no Unitarians had in fact been prosecuted for many years. (See also above Note on p.75. 33.)

215. 5 **Socinian** someone who holds the views of Faustus Socinus and his brother, 16th century Italian theologians, who thought of Christ as a man who became divine, as opposed to God who became incarnate.

215. 7ff **five men were burnt . . .** The *Dublin Review* article Newman has been using in this Lecture (see above Note on p.211. n.3) may be his source here: 'The cases of Parris, Kett, Legat, and Wrightman, who were burnt at the stake for Unitarianism, - of Peeters, Tuuwert, and Hammond, who suffered as Anabaptists, - of Puritan victims like Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, - conformists like Thacker, Copping, and Wilsford, may show how extensive was the range of Anglican intolerance' (p.434). The article continues, 'But it is only in the treatment of Catholics that we can trace its full inveteracy', which has perhaps influenced Newman's text here which immediately continues 'Catholics have fared even worse' (l.12).

215. 20-1 **an *Agnus Dei*** a circular wax tablet on which is stamped the figure of a lamb, representing Christ, made from the remains of the Paschal candles and solemnly blessed by the Pope on the Thursday after Easter. The wearing of these was a popular mediaeval devotion, and in penal times this became an expression of Catholic loyalty. Under an Act of 1571 it was treason to bring into England ‘the thing called by the name *Agnus Dei*, crosses, pictures, beads, or such like superstitious things’. Although long a dead letter, this Act had not actually been repealed by 1851.

215. 21-26 **five years . . . imprisonment for life** A number of anti-Catholic laws, carrying such penalties, were finally repealed in 1844, though they had long ceased to be applied.

215. fn.7 **Letters on the Church** See above Note on p.203. n.4.

216. 2-11 **“As soon as . . . opprobrious names.”** See Challoner, Richard, *Memoirs of Missionary priests and other catholics of both Sexes, that have suffered death in England on religious accounts from the year 1577 to 1684*, (London, 1803 edition), p.8.

216. 4ff **Cuthbert Maine** (1554-77) usually, Mayne; the first of the ‘seminary priests’ to be martyred. Ordained as an Anglican minister, he converted to Catholicism under the influence of Edmund Campion (see below) at Oxford and went to Douay College to be trained for the priesthood. Returning secretly to England, he ministered for only a year in Cornwall before being arrested; he was executed in Launceston market place. Challoner records, ‘The Latin manuscript says, “he was, indeed, cut down alive, but falling from the beam, which was of an unusual height, with his head upon the side of the scaffold on which he was to be quartered, he was by that means almost quite killed, and therefore but



little sensible of the ensuing butchery.” (ibid., p.11) He was canonised in 1970.

216. 14 **John Wilson** This is Newman’s error for John Nelson, a priest who was martyred on 3rd February, 1578.

216. 15-6 “I forgive . . . my death.” Challoner, op.cit., p.15.

216. 16 **Edward Campion** Newman’s error for Edmund Campion (1540-81). After a brilliant career at Oxford where he was a Fellow of St.John’s College, he converted to Catholicism and went to Douay. He became a Jesuit and taught at Prague but returned to England as a missionary priest in 1580 where he issued his famous *Decem Rationes*. After thirteen months during which he put heart into the beleaguered Catholic community he was arrested, tortured in the Tower and executed in 1581. He was canonised in 1970 as one of the ‘Forty Martyrs’. Newman has confused him with Edward Campion, another convert at Oxford who went to Rheims, became a priest and returned to England; he was executed at Canterbury in 1586.

216. 17-25 “Before he went . . . at Tyburn.” Challoner, op.cit. p.25.

216. 25 **Ralph Sherwin** (1550-81) Challoner spells the name Sherwine. Having been a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, he became a Catholic and went to Douay and was ordained to the priesthood. He subsequently became a Jesuit and returned to England in 1580. He shared Campion’s fate of imprisonment and torture in the Tower and was executed with him. He was canonised in 1970.

216. 25 – 217. 1 **the hangman . . . much moved** See Challoner, op.cit., p.34, almost verbatim.

216. n.8. **Challoner's Missionary Priests** See above Note on p.216. 2-11. Newman seems to have taken his examples from Challoner almost at random. They all come from the first hundred and twenty pages of the volume and contain some errors – all of which suggests the pressure of time he was working under (see above, Introduction, pp.25ff).

217. 3 **Thomas Sherwood** (1551-78), a Catholic layman who intended to become a priest, he was arrested before he could do so, racked and eventually executed at Tyburn. See Challoner, op. Cit, pp.15-6. He was canonised in 1970.

217. 6 **Alexander Brian** (c.1556-81) usually Briant; another Oxford convert who went to Douay, he returned to England as a priest in 1579. Following his arrest and torture he was executed along with Edmund Campion and Ralph Sherwin. See Challoner, op. cit., pp. 35-8. He was canonised in 1970.

217. 8 **George Haydock** (d.1584) Together with his brother and widowed father he went to Rheims and Rome to train for the priesthood. He was arrested a year after his return to England and imprisoned for two years before being executed. See Challoner, op. cit., pp.76-9.

217. 12 **John Finch** (d.1584) a yeoman farmer executed for becoming a Catholic and assisting priests. See Challoner, op.cit., p.89.

217. 19 **Richard White** (d.1585) a layman, executed at Wrexham. See Challoner, op.cit., pp.90-1.

217. 21-2 **James Claxton** or Clarkson (d.1588), a priest who had trained at Rheims;



executed at Isleworth. Newman's eye has run too swiftly over the page: the martyr who was put into the *little ease* and whose blood spurted out of his finger ends was not James Clarkson but Thomas Felton (d.1528), a layman, who was condemned and executed along with Claxton. See Challoner, op.cit., pp.118-120. It is characteristic that Newman was distracted by the mention of the 'little ease'; he seems to have had something of an obsession with this particular form of torture and uses it as an image of restriction several times in his writing (see e.g. above, Introduction, p.60).

218. 2 **The catalogue reaches to some hundred names** Newman has evidently only glanced at the chronological list of martyrs at the front of Challoner's book. The actual total is much higher, a hundred and eighty seven dying in Elizabeth I's reign alone.

218. 6 **the end of the seventeenth century** The last Catholic to be martyred for his faith was St.Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, who was executed in 1681 at the time of the 'Popish Plot' (see below Note on p.266. 2).

218. 11 **Queen Mary** Mary I (1516-58). Newman's argument that the burnings of Protestants under her reign were not comparable to the atrocities inflicted on Catholics because they were 'the acts . . . of an English party, inflamed with revenge against their enemies' may sound somewhat tendentious. However, it is true that Mary was persuaded by her advisers to embark on this policy rather than initiating it herself.

218. 13 **Cardinal Pole** Reginald Pole (1500-58). He was nominated papal legate to the Queen on Mary's accession; she arranged for him also to become Archbishop of Canterbury. He was indeed opposed to the policy of burning Protestants, since his whole policy was to reconcile England to the Catholicism whose renewal he had done so much to encourage. Pope Paul IV later cancelled his legation. He died on the same day as Queen

Mary.

218. 26 **Socinian** See above Note on p.215. 5.

218. 26 **Cranmer** Thomas (1489-1556), appointed Archbishop of Canterbury under Henry VIII to approve his divorce and support his claim to be Supreme Head of the church in England. He was a dominant influence in shaping the new Church of England, promulgating its Articles and being largely responsible for its Prayer Book. The unfortunate Anabaptist was Joan Bocher who was burned at the stake for heresy during the reign of the Protestant Edward VI. Cranmer himself was burnt for heresy under Mary I.

218. 26 **Anabaptist** member of the sect founded in 1521 in Germany which denied the efficacy of infant baptism and rebaptised adults.

218. 28 **Knox** John (1505-72), the guiding spirit of the Protestant Reformation in Scotland. The *Dublin Review* article Newman used in this Lecture (see above, Note on p.211, fn.3) says that Knox:

approved of the murder of Cardinal Beaton, and openly joined the assassins after their flight. . . . he was implicated before the fact in the murder of David Rizzio; and . . . he was most probably acquainted with Killigrew's secret mission for the purpose of having Mary put to death in Scotland. (p.435)

219. 22ff **a clergyman of the Establishment . . .** On 8th December 1850 the Rev. Hugh McNeile, Canon of Chester and incumbent of St. Paul's, Liverpool, (see above, note on p.38) preached a sermon in which he attacked the Catholic practice of Confession. Discussing the case of Catholic priests who would refuse to give information about a



murder which they had received under the seal of the confessional, he went on to demand the death penalty for all such priests:

I would make it a capital offence to administer the confession in this country.

Transportation would not satisfy me, for that would merely transfer the evil from one part of the world to the other. Capital punishment alone would satisfy me.

Death alone would prevent the evil. That is my solemn conviction.

(O.A., Press cutting in Newman's scrapbook B2.1)

Following a complaint by a member of the congregation, McNeile withdrew 'the atrocious sentiment which I uttered this morning' at evening service later that same day. However, he subsequently wrote a lengthy exculpatory letter to the papers on the subject, in which he continued to argue that a priest who heard the confession of a murderer and refused to divulge it deserved capital punishment. In a lecture in Kendal a few days later, the Rev. Hugh Stowell of Manchester supported McNeile. A newspaper account of his speech reported that:

In speaking of the Confessional he described the Priest sitting as God in his chair, and hearing the darkest secrets, which he did not reveal to any mortal man, for they were entrusted to him as to God. Even if a murder was confessed, the Priest would refuse to make it known. The Scripture says, 'Thou shalt do no murder,' and he (Mr. Stowell) unhesitatingly declared that the man who could listen to the confession and not make it known was an accessory after the fact; *and he did not think that his dear brother, Dr. M'Neile, went too far, when he declared his opinion that such a man ought to be hanged!* [italics in the original report]

(O.A., *ibid*)

Newman was attacked by a Congregationalist minister, Brewin Grant, in one of his pamphlets *Orations to the Oratorians*, for failing to indicate that McNeile only wanted capital punishment for priests who had heard a murderer's, or intended murderer's, confession, not for all priests. Although this was a fair criticism, it remains true that

McNeile and Stowell, who were prominent Anglican clergymen, had publicly called for the death penalty for the exercise of a Catholic sacramental practice. As Newman says, ‘doubtless they had their *reasons*’, but their views were hardly consistent with the claim that the Protestants were opposed to all religious persecution.

219. 33 **Gardiner** Stephen Gardiner (c.1490-1555), Bishop of Winchester. Initially supporting Henry VIII’s claim to royal supremacy, he was deprived of his see under Edward VI for his Catholic views and restored by Mary I.

219. 33 **Victoria** (1819-1901). She took a very hostile attitude towards the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy. Newman reproduced a newspaper report of her reaction in his Notes to his sermon ‘Christ upon the Waters’:

“The Queen herself had been the first to resent the recent audacious usurpation of the Pope. She sent directly for the Home Secretary, who found her in her drawing-room in a state of great excitement, and her Majesty exclaimed, ‘Sir George, I am Queen of England, and I shall not bear this.’ The other report, as it circulates in the Courts, is, that ‘her Majesty had read the Pope’s Bull, and was fully alive to her own position. On the day it was received she sent for Lord John Russell, and, with the document in her hand, said, “Am I the Queen of England, my Lord?” To which Lord John replied, “Who dare doubt it, your Majesty?” Upon that her Majesty said, “Look at this, and act upon it.””’ (O.S., p.324)

She also replied enthusiastically to various Addresses to her on the subject (ibid., p.232-4).

220. 24-30 **So it was with the actors . . . the scaffold or the river-side** The *Dublin Review* article Newman has been using in this Lecture (see above Note on p.211. n.3) has a passage on the persecution at the time of the French revolution (p.436) of which Newman’s lines here are a direct summary. He particularly echoes ‘. . . it was in that age



of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." And yet the very men who, in words, proclaimed the most unbounded license of speech, in action maintained a despotism, so unrelenting, so cruel, so monstrous, as the world has never witnessed' (ibid).

222. 13-4 the distinguished author I just now quoted Gieseler (see Note on p.211. n.4.).

222. n.9 **De Maistre's Letters on the Inquisition** Joseph De Maistre (1753-1821), French ultramontane ecclesiastical writer; he wrote on the relationship between the Church and secular authorities, notably in *Du pape* (1819). His *Lettres à un gentilhomme russe sur l'Inquisition* (Paris, 1822) had been sent to Newman by F.W.Faber (see *L.D.*, xiv, p.327).

223. TITLE **PREJUDICE** Newman's treatment of this subject in this lecture owes much to *U.S.*, Sermon XIV 'Wisdom as Contrasted with Faith and Bigotry' (pp.278-311). He developed the ideas further in *G.A.*, especially ch.4, pp.36ff.

224.20 **Beelzebub** See above Note on p.25. 3.

224. 25-6 if Anti-Christ is like Christ, then Christ, I suppose, must be like Anti-Christ See *O.S.*, 141: 'If Antichrist looks like Christ, Christ, of course, must look like Antichrist'; also. *Ess*, ii, 172: 'Since Antichrist simulates Christ, and bishops are images of Christ, Antichrist is like a bishop, and a bishop is like Antichrist. And what is the Pope but a bishop?'

230. 32ff. A lie is a lie . . . Cf. *L.D.*, vi, p.352: 'There is a great fat lie, a lie to the back bone, and in all its component parts, and in its soul and body, inside and out, in all sides of

it, and in its very origin, in the Record of yesterday evening. It has no element of truth in it – it is born of a lie – its father and mother are lies and all its ancestry – and to complete it, it is about me.’

232. 18-9 **the greatest of the Romans . . . not be suspected** Julius Caesar (c.102-44 B.C.) divorced his wife Pompeia, just because her name had been mixed up with an accusation against someone else recorded, even though Caesar was sure she was innocent. The incident is recorded in Suetonius’s *Julius Caesar*, 74, and Plutarch’s *Lives*, Julius Caesar, x, 6; it is more usually quoted as ‘Caesar’s wife must be above suspicion.’

232. 20 **stained the minds of the hearers** Newman was to use the same image in the *Apologia*; see above Note on p.13. 29.

234. 5-6 **“loved darkness rather than the light”** John 3:19.

236. 8-9 **“when unadorned,” is “adorned the most.”** “For loveliness / Needs not the foreign aid of ornament, / But is when unadorned adorned the most”, James Thomson, *Autumn*, l.204; see above Note on p.28. 6.

237. 22 **pedlars’ baskets** A pedlar was someone who carries a *ped* or hamper without a lid in which were stored his goods to sell.

239. 11 **St.Eligius** See above Notes on pp.100. 12-16, 107. 22, 107. fn.2.

239. 16-20 **the Philistine champion ... by his gods.”** 1 Samuel 17:43.



25-8 240. **Milton's day-star . . . of the morning sky.**" Lycidas, l.169-171. Milton's text reads 'repairs *his* head' and 'tricks *his* beams'. Newman has either misremembered or adapted the lines to his context.

240. 33 **"unhurt amid the war . . . "defies" defeat** Joseph Addison, *The Campaign*, V, 1.28.

241. 3-4 **Teodore . . . Jeffreys** See above Notes on p.175. 22.

245. 24-5 **griffins, wiverns, salamanders** See above Notes on p.10. 7, 8.

246. 1ff **four facts about me . . .** Newman discussed these allegations in more detail in a letter to his friend Henry Wilberforce (*L.D.*, xiii, pp.71-2).

246. 17-9 **an eminent pulpit and platform clergyman** Rev.Hugh Stowell (1799-1865). See above Note on p.219. 22ff.

246. 20 **the *Manchester Courier*** 25th March 1846. The report was reprinted in *The Tablet*, VII, 28<sup>th</sup> March, p.204, where Newman saw it. He replied to the allegation in a letter published in *The Tablet*, VII, 4<sup>th</sup> April 1846, p.220. (See *L.D.*, XI, pp.145-6).

247. 5-6 **refused to be ordained on their conditions** It was alleged that Newman 'would not deny the validity of Anglican orders' (*L.D.*, xiii, pp.71-2). He had a scruple as to whether his Anglican orders were valid, but he did not, of course, insist on conditional ordination.

247. 12 **the present Bishop of the diocese** Rt.Rev.William Ullathorne (1806-89). He gave a warm appreciation of Newman at the public meeting of Birmingham Catholics which was organised to thank Newman for the *Present Position* lectures (see Introduction, pp.109ff).

248. 2-5 **“Trifles light as air . . . of Holy Writ”** Shakespeare, *Othello*, III, iii, 326-8. Newman had made use of this quotation in the same context in his sermon ‘Faith and Reason Contrasted as Habits of Mind’ (U.S., 1843, revised edition 1872, p.189):

it is scarcely necessary to point out how much our inclinations have to do with our belief. It is almost a proverb, that persons believe what they wish to be true. . . .

The case is the same as regards preconceived opinions. Men readily believe reports unfavourable to persons they dislike, or confirmations of theories of their own.

“Trifles light as air” are all that the predisposed mind requires for belief and action.

The ideas in this sermon underlie Newman’s approach both in this Lecture and in Lecture VII.

248. 26 **operatives** factory workers

249. 21 **Carnival** The festivities preceding Lent, culminating on Shrove Tuesday, the day before Ash Wednesday. The Latin word was originally ‘carnilevamen’, meaning the leaving off (‘levare’) of meat (‘caro, carnis’) but was altered in Italian to ‘carnevale’ meaning farewell (‘vale’) to meat.

249. 26 **Lazzaroni** idlers

249. 29 **falling sickness** epilepsy



250. 18 **Lady Day** the Feast of the Annunciation, 25th March.

250. 18 **the Minerva** the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva which was attached to the Dominican house in Rome.

250. 29 **cicerone** a guide who is expert in showing the tourist the sights of a foreign town.

251. 1-2 **a most excellent person** Newman's tactful silence as to this person's name has baffled attempts to identify him definitively. It may be Frederic Rogers (1811-89), who had been a pupil of Newman's at Oriel and became a Fellow and a member of the Oxford Movement. He travelled in Italy with James Hope in 1840-1; he always maintained a sceptical attitude towards Catholic claims. In the First Edition Newman quoted the words on the inscription as 'Joanni Papissæ' rather than 'Joannæ Papissæ' which, together with use of 'in its substance' and 'I think' suggests that he is relying on his memory rather than quoting from a printed source.

251. 10 **the inviolateness of the chair of St.Peter** The bishop's chair, or 'cathedra', from which he presides in the liturgy, is the symbol of his authority. The Pope, as successor of St.Peter, the first Bishop of Rome, is thus said to speak 'ex cathedra' when he makes an infallible definition on faith or morals. The teaching authority or 'chair' of the papacy is 'inviolable' in the sense that this office is continually preserved as Christ's gift of divine authority and infallibility to his Church (see Matthew 16:17-19). The office would indeed have been 'violated' if it had been occupied by a woman who, by virtue of her sex, was incapable of priestly or episcopal ordination and therefore unable to be Bishop of Rome.

251. 14 **the Countess Matilda** (1046-1115), Countess of Tuscany, supporter of the reforming Pope Gregory VII.

251. 14-5 **Queen Christina** (1626-89) of Sweden; she converted to Catholicism and was buried in Rome.

251. 20 **a lady of high literary reputation** Lady Morgan (1783-1859) who wrote under the name Sydney Owenson; her most celebrated novel was *The Wild Irish Girl*. Newman's information on her confusion over St.Peter's chair came from a press cutting (*O.A.*, scrapbook B2.1). Her claim about the chair was widely believed; *Punch* had a cartoon depicting the Pope as a hookah-smoking sultan sitting on a chair inscribed "And Mahomet is his Prophet' (1851, Vol.XX, p.35).

251. 21 **Denon** Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1825), painter; Director-General of Museums under Napoleon whom he accompanied, together with other eminent scholars, on his expedition to Egypt. When Newman was a boy he had chosen as a school prize Denon's *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, in company with several Divisions of the French Army under the command of General Bonaparte* translated by Francis Blagdon (London, 1802); he had chosen it 'not knowing it was a large work. I was obliged to put up with this.' (*L.D.*, I, p.9)

251. 21 **savans** savants, men of learning.

251. 22-3 **the Republic or Consulate** Napoleon was commander of the French army which invaded Italy in 1796 during the first French Republic (1792-9). The Consulate was established by Napoleon in 1799 and lasted until he declared himself emperor in 1804.

251. 23 **St.Peter's chair** The actual chair said to have been used by St.Peter is indeed preserved above the apsidal altar of St. Peter's Basilica, enclosed, in a gigantic casing of



bronze designed by Bernini. For a full discussion of the origin and likely authenticity of this chair, see the article 'Chair of Peter' in *The Catholic Encyclopaedia* (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03551e.htm>).

252. 3 **the Antiochene Chair** According to tradition, St.Peter established his See at Antioch (and before that, Alexandria) before transferring it to Rome.

252. 28 *laquais de place* hired grooms

253. 4-5 **he pays a visit to some Catholic Chapel** Just such a visit was paid to the Oratory in Alcester Street in 1851 by A.Cleveland Coxe, Rector of Grace Church, Baltimore:

pushing aside a heavy veil at the door, such as is common in Italian churches, [I] found myself in a low and dirty looking place of worship, in which the first object that met my eye was an immense doll of almost ludicrous aspect, near the door, representing the Virgin, with crecent beneath her feet. . . . Before this image several youths, with broad tonsures, and long cassocks, were kneeling, in a manner truly histrionic.

He returns later (to hear Newman preach):

On entering, I observed that the altar was a bank of flowers, looking more like shelves of a conservatory, than the table of the Lord. Above this horticultural display towered a thing of wax and glass spangles, (or what seemed to be such) as the apparent divinity of the shrine. It was a shameful burlesque of the Virgin, and utterly incompetent to excite one religious or reverent thought in any mind not entirely childish, or depraved in taste. . . . The chancel was filled with the youths I had seen before . . . offering some prayers in English, but they could not be called English prayers, and then followed a hymn, given out and sung much in the style of

the Methodists. . . . While the singing was going on, a lank and spectral figure [Newman] appeared at the door of the chancel – and stalked in, and prostrated himself before the altar. This was followed by a succession of elevations and prostrations, awkward in the extreme, and both violent and excessive . . . Meanwhile the hymn was continued by the the disciples, as fanatically as the pantomime was performed by the Master. (*Impressions of England, or Sketches of English Scenery and Society* (New York & London, 1856), ch.iii)

253. 14 **the cave of Trophonius** Trophonius, together with his brother Agamedes, built a treasury for the King of Elis, leaving a secret entrance by which they could later rob it. When they did so, Agamedes was caught in a trap, so Trophonius cut his brother's head off to avoid detection himself. Later Trophonius was himself swallowed up into an underground chamber where he lived on to be consulted as an oracle. Those who visited him in his cave always emerged looking very gloomy, so it became a saying that depressed people had been visiting the cave of Trophonius.

253. 14 **Mesmerist** a hypnotist, after Friedrich Mesmer (1733-1815), German doctor and founder of 'animal magnetism'; there had been an article on this subject by William Sewall in *The British Critic*, Vol.XLVII, October 1838.

254. 12 ***The British Protestant*** No.LXII. February, 1850. There is a copy of this among Newman's preparatory material for the lectures, *O.A.*, D.5.16. See the Bibliography.

254. 18-19 **"Extracts from the Journal . . .** pp.29-32.

255. 20 **when He lifted up his hands over the children** See Mark 10:13-16.



255. 20-1 **when he blessed . . . Mount Olivet** See Luke 24:50-1.

255. 29-31 **“The Lord bless thee . . . give thee peace”** Numbers 6:24-6.

256. 15-6 **“infused” knowledge** ‘St. Thomas [Aquinas] argues that . . . besides the knowledge of God seen in His essence, and of all things seen in God, besides the experimental knowledge common to all men, the soul of Christ had a knowledge infused or poured into it, by which He knew most fully all the mysteries of grace, and every object to which human cognition extends or can extend.’ (Addis, W.E., and Arnold, T.A., *A Catholic Dictionary* (15th edition, revised Scannell, T.B. and Hallett, P.E., London, 1951), p.156.

258. 4 **Philip Gordon** William Philip Gordon (1827-1900). He and his brother John had been novices in the early days of the Oratorian community at Maryvale. Philip was part of the group who left with Faber to form the London Oratory and later became its Superior. John stayed with Newman, next to whom he is buried; *The Dream of Gerontius* is dedicated to him.

259. 16-7 **the veil** the humeral veil

260. 23 **something like the following rubrical direction** What follows is not taken verbatim from the article in *The British Protestant*, and in the First Edition Newman did not set it out in italics and with ¶ as here. The present layout could somewhat misleadingly suggest that the ‘rubrical direction’ was actually to be found in the original article. Perhaps by the time he was revising the text for the Fourth Edition he had forgotten the original and actually thought it contained this.

262. 18-19 **St.Vitus's dance** a disease, chorea, in which the limbs, body and face undergo uncontrollable spasms.

264. 12 **Prince of the power of the air** the Devil; see Ephesians 2:2.

264. 17 **papal bull** a document issued by the Pope expressing some authoritative pronouncement; so called from the *bull* or leaden seal attached to it.

264. 25 **Diocletian persecution** Diocletian (245-313) was Roman Emperor from 284 to 305. From 303 onwards a series of decrees of increasing severity against Christians were issued which resulted in the destruction of churches and books and many martyrdoms. It only ended with the triumph of Constantine and the Edict of Milan in 313.

264. 28 **Tertullian** Quintus Tertullian (c.150-230). Both extracts are from his *Apologeticum* (197 A.D), the first from ch.40 and the second from ch.16.

265. 16-17 **Scottish absurdities** Anti-Catholic societies had recently grown in force in Scotland and had considerable influence on English anti-Catholic bodies (see Wolffe, *op.cit.* , pp.159ff, 196).

266. 2 **Titus Oates** (1649-1705) inventor of the fictitious 'Popish Plot'. For a full account of this episode see Kenyon, J.P., *The Popish Plot* (London, 1972).

266. 2 **Hume** See above Note on p.71. 9. The quotations are from his *History of England* (Oxford, 1824 edn., 8 vols.) vol.viii.

266. 3-4 **"the most infamous of mankind"** Hume, *op.cit.*, p.61.



266. 4 **William Bedloe** (1650-80) Titus Oates's accomplice.

266. 5 **"if possible, more infamous than Oates"** *ibid.*, p.70.

266. 7 **a London magistrate** Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey (1621-78) received the depositions of Titus Oates and was found dead a month later. Three men were hanged for the murder on the confession under torture of Miles Prance who was himself later punished for perjury. For a discussion of who in fact killed him, see Kenyon, *op.cit.* p.302-311.

266. 21 **Propaganda** the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the Roman department in charge of foreign missions. After the Reformation, Great Britain was classed as mission territory right down to Newman's time.

268. 33 **Edmonsbury** Newman's mistake for Edmund Berry, uncorrected through all the editions.

268. n.1. **Macaulay, History** Macaulay, Thomas Babington (1800-59); *History of England from the Accession of James II* (Vol.i,1849).

268. 4-23 **"Without further reasoning . . . by the Papists."** Hume, *op.cit.*, pp.65-6.

275. 17-8 **set the schoolmaster upon them** Cf. Lord Brougham (1778-1868), 'Look out gentleman, the schoolmaster is abroad!' (Speech to the London Mechanics Institute, 1825).

276. 2 **a stringent Act of Parliament** the Ecclesiastical Titles Act.

276. 8 **Maria Monk** See above Note on p.163. 27.

276. 8-9 **Jeffreys and Theodore** See above Notes on p.175. 22.

279. 30 **Academics or Pyrrhonists** sceptics in philosophy. The original Academy was founded by Plato (c.427-348 B.C.) who was not a sceptic but did hold that the objects of our sense-perception are not the objects of true knowledge; Arcesilaus (315-241 B.C.), founder of the Second Academy said that he was certain of nothing, not even of the fact that he was certain of nothing; Carneades of Cyrene (214-129 B.C.), founder of the Third Academy, taught that knowledge is impossible and that there is no criterion of truth. Pyrrho of Elis (c.360-c.270 B.C.) taught that we can only know how things appear to us, not their inner substance.

280. 16-7 **Dr.Johnson . . . the first Whig,**” See Boswell’s *Life of Samuel Johnson* (Everyman Edn., London, 1963), Vol.II, p.232.

281. 7 **Cato** Marcus Porcius Cato, ‘the Younger’, (d.46 B.C.), Roman statesman, follower of the Stoic philosophy, opponent of Julius Caesar.

281. 8 **Utica** a city, originally Phoenician, on the N.W.African coast about 30 miles from Carthage. Cato had undertaken the defence of Utica against Caesar’s army but realised it was hopeless.

281. 11 **Saul, in Scripture, fell on his sword** See 1 Chronicles 10:4.



282. 25 **various benevolent persons** Newman's brother Francis (1805-97) had by this time become a vegetarian.

286. 4-5 **"I do not like thee, Dr.Fell . . . "** The original version is 'I do not love you, Dr.Fell; / But why I cannot tell; / But this I know full well, / I do not love you, Dr.Fell' an adaptation by Thomas Brown (1663-1704) of an epigram by the Roman writer Martial (40-104). Brown was attacking Dr.John Fell (1625-86) who was Dean of his college, Christ Church, Oxford.

287. 23-5 **the ancient pagan Romans . . . persecuted the first Christians** This subject interested Newman his whole life. As well as in *Call*, he gives extended treatment to the subject in *G.A.*, pp.469-486.

288. 5ff **They thought all this . . .** cf. *Call*, p.138ff; see above Introduction, pp.66-7.

289. 32ff **"blessed are the meek," . . .** Matthew 5:4, 10, 8.

290. 22 **novenas** periods of nine days of prayer, usually for a specific, urgent, intention.

290. 24-5 **deprecatory and intercessory prayer** prayer to ward off evil and prayer asking saints to pray for us (or others). The latter had been one of the issues addressed by Newman in *Tract 90* (*V.M.*, ii, pp.305-309). For Newman's later treatment of the intercessory power of the Virgin Mary, see *Diff*, pp.68-76.

291. 29 **bigotry** For Newman's earlier treatment of this topic, see *U.S.*, pp.305-8:

Men of narrow minds, far from confessing ignorance and maintaining truth mainly as a duty, profess . . . to understand the subjects which they take up and the

principles which they apply to them. They do not see difficulties. They consider that they hold their doctrines, whatever they are, at least as much upon Reason as upon Faith; and they expect to be able to argue others into a belief of them, and are impatient when they cannot. They consider that the premisses with which they start just prove the conclusions which they draw, and nothing else. They think that their own views are exactly fitted to solve all the facts which are to be accounted for . . . Narrow minds have no power of throwing themselves into the minds of others. They have stiffened in one position, as limbs of the body subjected to confinement, or as our organs of speech, which after a while cannot learn new tones or inflections. They have parcelled out to their own satisfaction the whole world of knowledge; they have drawn their own lines, and formed their own classes, and given to each opinion, argument, principle, and party, its own locality . . . They think that any one truth excludes another which is distinct from it, and that every opinion is contrary to their own opinions which is not included in them.

292. 32-3 *“In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas,”* ‘unanimity in essential matters, freedom of opinion in doubtful matters’. The saying is usually attributed to St. Augustine.

293. 32-3 *“new lamps” . . . “old”* See the tale of Aladdin and his Magic Lamp, *Arabian Nights*, trans. Burton, R.F., adpt., Zipes, J., (London, 1997), p.190.

295. 7-8 *“let not him that putteth on his armour boast as he who taketh it off”* 1 Kings 20:11.

296. 6-8 *Tea and toast . . . goose at Michaelmas* Newman is laughing at himself here, since he greatly enjoyed such traditional fare. In one of his earliest surviving letters the



schoolboy John Henry writes home, 'Already in imagination I pay my respects to the mince Pies, Turkies and, and other good things of Christmas.' (*L.D.*, I, p.10).

296. 10-11. **Burgundy and grapes for breakfast!** Mr.Vincent in *Loss and Gain* had had a similar experience: "In France, that is, in the country, you get nothing for breakfast but acid wine and grapes" (p.179). Newman himself commented during his journey through France in 1846, 'They have hardly any thing *warm* even from the beginning of the day to the end – but the very pleasant but cold Burgundy wines' (*L.D.*, XI, p.245); he was given 'wine and grapes about 9 AM' (*ibid.*, p.246).

296. 13-23. **some good country gentleman . . . good beef-steak every day** Newman had used this story before in an article for the *British Critic*, 'Elliott's Travels' (Vol.XXV, April 1839, pp.305-20):

There is a story of an Englishman, who, when told of the miseries of a foreign travel, said that he was not particular, for so that he had a knife and fork and a good beefsteak for dinner of a day, he could with good heart dispense with everything else.

See Introduction p.38.

296. 33 **galvanism** the production of electricity by chemical means. There was a fad at the time for medical treatment known as 'galvano-therapeutics.'

297. 1-2 **peaked shoes** The peaked shoe or 'Crackow' had a toe so long that it made walking difficult if not impossible, and laws were passed to prohibit wearing them.

297. 2 **Edward III (1327-77)**

297. 2 **steeple hats** The high-crowned hat, shaped like a church steeple, became popular in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century and was adopted by Puritans who added a white band and a buckle. It persisted until the 1660s and continued to be worn by Quakers thereafter.

297. 9-12 **the wise man in the Greek epic . . . of many men**” Odysseus; see Homer, *Odyssey*, i.I.

299. 28 **the True Cross** What is believed to be a beam of Christ’s cross is kept in the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome. The discovery of the cross in the Holy Land in the fourth century is associated with St.Helena (c.247-c.330). For Newman’s detailed defence of the historicity of this, see *Mir*, pp.287-326. Newman lived at Sancta Croce in the spring of 1847 while he was making his noviciate as an Oratorian.

299. 29 **the Crib of Bethlehem** Five pieces of wood, known as the ‘sancta culla’, are kept in the basilica of Sancta Maria Maggiore in Rome. Their authenticity as part of the infant Christ’s manger is highly unlikely; they are thought to be the remains of a ‘Christmas crib’ set up there.

299. 29 **the Chair of St.Peter** See above Note on p.251. 23.

299. 28-9 **portions of the Crown of Thorns** in the church of Saint Chapelle. The relic was actually destroyed in the French Revolution.

299. 29-30 **the Holy Coat** This relic, kept in Trèves Cathedral, Germany, is said to be Christ’s tunic.



299. 30 **the Winding-Sheet** The celebrated Turin Shroud, which has been the subject of intense scientific investigation in recent years, including a carbon-dating test which apparently indicated that the cloth is of mediaeval origin. The debate about its authenticity, however, continues.

299. 32-3 **the iron crown . . . formed out of a Nail of the Cross** This is the 'Iron Crown of Lombardy', kept in Monza Cathedral, N.Italy. The finding of the nails used in Christ's crucifixion is associated with the finding of the cross by St.Helena (c.255-c.330), the mother of the Emperor Constantine. According to St.Ambrose, she had one of them made into a bridle for her son's horse. Establishing the authenticity of such nails is particularly difficult since there was a practice of a replica nail acquiring relic status by touching one of the reputedly authentic nails.

299. 33 – 300. 1 **another Nail . . . the Duomo of Milan** The nail in Milan cathedral is unlikely to date from the time of Constantine.

300. 2-3 **our Lady's Habit . . . in the Escorial** Newman seems to be confused here. The Escorial, the monastery and royal palace of Philip II of Spain, near Madrid, does not claim such a relic, though it does claim one of the Nails. The Cloak of the Blessed Virgin was, however, one of the four 'Great Relics' at Aachen which were exposed for veneration every seven years. (The other three were the swaddling clothes of the infant Jesus, the loin-cloth worn by Jesus on the cross and the cloth on which the head of John the Baptist was laid after his beheading.)

300. 3 **the scapular** a devotional article worn under ordinary clothes by some Catholics; originally a small cloak, it was later abbreviated to two small pieces of cloth, usually bearing an image, e.g. of Our Lady, attached by two cords which run over the shoulders.

The most common scapular is that associated with the Carmelite order. There was a legend that the Virgin Mary gave the scapular to St.Simon Stock and promised salvation to those who died wearing it.

300. 3 **the cord of St.Francis** another devotional article, worn around the waist in imitation of the cord of the Franciscan habit.

300. 7-31 **St.Januarius . . . St.Frances** Newman's citing of the miraculous events associated with these saints and his avowal of his belief in the truth of them attracted much opprobrium from non-Catholics (see Introduction, pp.111-2, 114). His attitude should be seen in the context of his argument about First Principles which follows.

300. 7 **St.Januarius's blood** In the Caraffa Chapel in Naples Cathedral there is kept a crystal vial containing a black substance which liquefies and looks like fresh blood on the feast day of St.Januarius and certain other days when it is exposed to the veneration of the people. Januarius, a bishop, was martyred in 305, but the existence of the relic is not recorded until 1389. There are a number of similar liquefactions in the Naples area. In recent years it has been suggested that the substance may be a chemical which occurs in rocks locally, i.e. the liquefaction is in fact due to one of the then 'unknown laws of nature' which Newman mentions later on p.312.

300. 8 **St.Winifred's Well** According to late mediaeval legend, St.Winifred was a niece of St.Beuno, an abbot; when she refused the attentions of one Caradoc he cut off her head but was immediately himself swallowed up into the earth. St.Beuno restored her head and she lived the rest of her life as a nun. A spring appeared where her head had fallen. This spring at Holywell in north Wales was a centre of miraculous healing, pilgrimages to the site having continued even after the Reformation and down to today.



300. 10 **stigmata** apparent wounds on the body in the places where Christ was pierced during his crucifixion; first recorded of St. Francis of Assisi.

300. 18 **St. Anthony of Padua** (1195-1231), a Franciscan friar and noted preacher. Devotion to him was very strong in the nineteenth century; he is popularly invoked to help find lost objects.

300. 23 **St. Cecilia** a martyr, mentioned in the Roman Canon of the Mass; the somewhat grisly story of the various attempts made to kill her occurs in a sixth century Passion of St. Cecilia which is now thought to be fictitious.

300. 24 **St. Peter elicited a spring of water** Although not mentioned in New Testament, St. Peter's martyrdom at Rome, c.64, is historically certain. The Mamertine Prison on the Capitoline Hill was the place where condemned criminals were imprisoned, and tradition makes this the place of St. Peter's imprisonment. The legend about the spring perhaps owes something to the story about St. Paul baptising his gaoler in Acts 16:25-34.

300. 26 **Francis Xavier** See above Note on p.61. 2-3.

300. 27 **St. Raymond** Nonnatus (d.1240), so called because he was said not to have been born normally but to have been taken from his mother's womb after her death in labour. As a co-founder with St. Peter Nolasco of the Order of Our Lady of Ransom he sold himself into slavery to the Moors to ransom captives and later became a Cardinal.

300. 28 **St. Andrew** the apostle.

300. 29 **St.Scholastica** (c.480-543), sister of St.Benedict; the shower of rain was to keep her brother from leaving her when she wanted to continue discussing divine matters with him.

300. 30 **St.Paul** not the apostle but St.Paul the Hermit (4th cent.).

300. 30-1 **St.Frances** of Rome (1384-1440), laywoman and later foundress of a religious community.

300. n.2 **Hume's celebrated argument . . . order of nature interrupted** 'A miracle is a violation of the laws of nature and as unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is an entire as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined. ... There must be ... a uniform experience against every miraculous event, otherwise the event would not merit that application.' (Hume, David, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, (1748) ch.X, 'Of Miracles', section 90 (<http://www.ecn.bris.ac.uk/het/hume/enquiry>)).

301.1-313.21 **we affirm that . . . the Divine Incarnation** These passages were quoted by Newman in the Appendix to the first edition of the *Apologia* (pp.335-340). See above Introduction p.135.

305. 19 **the Holy House of Nazareth** Newman may refer to the home of the Virgin Mary in this way because he is also indirectly alluding to the Holy House of Loreto in Italy which, according to legend, was the very house of Nazareth which had been miraculously transported there by angels from Palestine.



305. 21 **the Breviary** the book of liturgical 'hours' of prayers recited daily by priests and members of religious orders. An account of each saint's life was affixed to the Office for his or her feastday, usually emphasising the miraculous elements in the saints' lives. (The modern equivalent, produced after the Second Vatican Council, has removed almost all such miraculous references).

305. 21 **the Martyrology** the official list of martyrs and other saints. The modern writer on hagiology, Donald Attwater, described the Roman Martyrology, which had been promulgated in 1584 and was still in use in Newman's day and later, as having 'long been in need of drastic historical revision and correction' (*A Dictionary of Saints* (1965), p.25.).

308. 6 **Alexander or Coeur de Lion** Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.) and King Richard I (1157-99), both celebrated for their military exploits.

308. n.3. **Douglas** John Douglas (1721-1807), Anglican bishop and controversialist.

308. n.3. **Middleton** Conyers Middleton (1683-1750), Anglican divine and theological controversialist. His views on miracles were expressed in *An Introductory Discourse to a larger work ... concerning the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church from the earliest ages ...* (1747) and *A Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers* etc. (1749). Newman had originally followed Douglas's and Middleton's principles in his essay on scriptural miracles for the *Encyclopedia Metropolitana* in 1826 (*Mir.*), when he was 'drifting in the direction of liberalism' (see *Apologia*, p.105). His subsequent 1843 essay on ecclesiastical miracles (*Mir.*), corrected this view by arguing that there are no grounds for accepting the biblical miracles which do not apply also to ecclesiastical ones. Here in *Prepos* Newman is thus continuing this critique of his early view.

308. n.3. **Crieron** [sic] Douglas, John, *The Criterion; or, rules by which the true miracles recorded in the New Testament are distinguished from the spurious miracles of pagans and papists*, (4<sup>th</sup> edition, Oxford, 1832). Douglas's argument was actually sceptical in tendency (see Stephen, L., *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, vol.i (London, 1876), pp.403ff).

309. 1 **Alfred** See above Note on p.66. 14.

309. 20 **Museum . . . trinket** the Wolvercote dagger in the Ashmolean. Alfred was sometimes fancifully reputed to be the founder of the University.

311. 1-2 **St.Theodore stands for St.Eugenius, or St.Agathocles** Since these three martyrs all come from the same period, the Diocletian persecution, and their lives are obscure, it is not surprising that they should be easily confused. Newman had a detailed knowledge of this period, as many sections of the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* and the last chapter of *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* show.

311. 1 **St.Theodore** Tyro of Euchaita was said to be a soldier and to have died at Amasea c.306; he was venerated as one of the three great 'warrior saints' on the East, along with St.George and St.Demetrius. Newman mentions him as one of the 'Knights without reproach or fear' in his poem 'Valentine to a Little Girl' in *Verses on Various Occasions* (1890 edn), p.291.

311. 1 **St.Eugenius** died c.302 together with St.Canisius and their companions.

311. 2 **St.Agathocles** one of a group of fifteen who were put to death in Pamphylia in 304.



311. 8 **thaumatology** the description or discussion of the miraculous.

311. 28 **Froissart** Jean Froissart (1337 - 1410), French chronicler. His *Chroniques* (English trans., 1523-5) have been described as 'the work of a literary artist rather than a trustworthy historian, but [they] give a faithful picture of the broad features of his period' (*Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Literature*, 2nd Edition, 1970, p.208).

311. 28 **Sully** Maximillian Béthune, Duke of Sully (1560-1641), chief minister of Henry IV of France; his memoirs, *Les Oeconomies Royales de Sully*, are notably partisan in their presentation of his own and his royal master's merits.

311. 29 **Doddington** [sic] George Bubb Dodington (1691-1762), M.P. for Bridgewater and later Baron Melcombe; he constantly switched his political allegiance, and his posthumously published Diary shows his egotism.

311. 30 **Walpole** Horace Walpole (1717-97), fourth Earl of Oxford, man of letters. He is best known for his own letters which are of great social and anecdotal interest; but Newman may also have in mind his historical work *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III* (1768) of which it has been said that 'he had a good subject, but was too languid to undertake proper research' (Sampson, G., *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature*, 3rd Edition, 1972, p.449).

311. 30 **Hume** See above Note on p. Note on p.71. 9.

311. 30 **Sharon Turner** (1768-1847), author of a *History of the Anglo-Saxons from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest*, *The History of England from the Norman*

*Conquest to 1500* (1799-1805) and other volumes. He has been described as an antiquarian rather than a historian.

311. 30 **Macaulay** See above Note on p.268. n.1.

313. 2-3 **the bodies of St.Peter and St.Paul** St.Peter's basilica is built on the site of the tomb of the apostle; archaeological excavations beneath the High Altar have uncovered remains which may well be those of St.Peter. The basilica of St. Paul-without-the-Walls was built on the site on the tomb of St.Paul on the Via Ostia.

313. 4 **St.Matthew** There is a tradition that the body of St. Matthew, the apostle, is preserved in the crypt under the high altar of Salerno cathedral. Since there is no firm historical evidence for the whereabouts of St.Matthew's death, (though one account says he was martyred in Ethiopia, south of the Caspian Sea), it seems highly unlikely that his body is in fact at Salerno.

313. 5 **St.Andrew** What were said to be St. Andrew's relics were moved from Patrae to Constantinople about 357. When Constantinople was taken by the French in 1204, Cardinal Pietro of Capua brought the relics to Italy and placed them in the Cathedral of Amalfi.

316. 16 **"great wits ought to have long memories"** See Dryden, *Sir Martin Mar-All* (1688), iv., I: 'Good wits, you know, have bad memories.'

316. 32 **the Protestant Rule of Faith** i.e. the Bible alone. For Newman's view on the mistaken Protestant interpretation of the phrase 'Rule of Faith', see *V.M.*, i, 374: 'the phrase "Rule of Faith," which is now commonly taken to mean the Bible itself, would



seem, in the judgment of the English Church, properly to belong to the Bible and Catholic Tradition taken together.'

317. 19 **a country gentleman in this neighbourhood** Sir Francis Goodricke (1797-1865), of Studley Castle, Warwickshire. See *L.D.*, XVIII, p.430.

320. 16 **a well-known authoress, lately deceased** Letitia Elizabeth Landon (1802-38). The references are to *Romance and Reality* (1831).

321. 23-4 **Protestants contract their reading . . . to St.Paul's Epistles** Newman had noted in a sermon of 1834 how 'different classes of religionists do build their respective doctrines upon the one foundation and on the other, upon the Gospels and upon St.Paul's epistles; the more enthusiastic upon the latter, the cold, proud, and heretical, upon the former' (*P.S.*, ii, p.187). In 1872 he was to recall how

a friend told me about the year 1826 that he was walking and talking with a dissenting acquaintance, and happened to quote in defence of what he had said some words of our Lord. On which his companion stopped short and said to him, "Where do those words occur?" and on his answering "In the Gospels," the other replied "My dear friend, don't you know you have quoted a most unevangelic part of Scripture?" (*L.D.*, xxvi, pp.187 and n.3)

But Newman has in mind not just Evangelicals but also liberals such as Richard Whateley:

Our chief source, therefore of instruction, as to the doctrines of the gospel, must be in the apostolic epistles, which . . . contain, though scattered irregularly here and there, according to the several occasions, all the great doctrines of the Gospel . . . thus furnishing us with the means . . . of attaining a sufficient knowledge of all necessary truth . . . The most precious part of this treasure we have from the pen of

St.Paul. (Whately, R., *Essays on Some of the Difficulties in the Writings of St.Paul*, (London, 1828), pp.58-9.

321. 27 **one or two sentences** e.g. Rom 3:28; Gal 2:16; references to 'justification by faith' used by Protestant controversialists in their arguments against 'good works'.

322. 12 **Suarez** Francisco Suarez (1548-1617), Spanish Jesuit philosopher and theologian.

322. 12 **Bellarmino** Robert Bellarmine (1532-1621), influential theologian and controversialist of the Counter-Reformation period, canonised in 1930 when he was also declared a Doctor of the Church.

326. 26. **some words of my own** *V.M.*, i., 30-32.

328. 2-3 **the divine command in the ninth chapter of the book of Genesis** 'Whoever shall shed man's blood, his blood shall be shed' (Gen 9:6).

328. 5 **uniform custom . . It is** Newman here omits 39 lines from the original text of *V.M.*

328. 5 **silent** The original text reads 'latent'. Newman's eye may have been attracted by the word 'silent' in the next line.

328. 7 **the Church's . . habit of opinion and feeling** The original text here reads 'the Church's unconscious habit of opinion and sentiment;'



328. 24-5 there has been lately a great deal of surprise expressed a reference to Rev.G.S.Faber's pamphlet *Papal Infallibility, a Letter to a Dignitary of the Church of Rome* (London, 1851). G.S.Faber was the uncle of Newman's fellow Oratorian Frederick William Faber, and had challenged his nephew in October 1849 on the question of the Church's infallibility never having been defined. F.W.Faber had consulted Newman about it (see *L.D.*, XIII, p.274).

329. 25 family vade-mecums popular manuals (literally, for carrying in one's pocket) of general useful information, including basic medical advice.

329. 26 **materia-medicas** scientific books about medicines.

329. n.1 By myself . . . Lecture X, p.293. *V.M.*, i, p.241.

329. n.1 Cressy, in Dr.Hammond's Works Henry Hammond (1604-60), Anglican divine, chaplain to Charles I. The reference is to *The Works of the Reverend and Learned Henry Hammond, D.D. The Second Volume, Containing a Collection of Discourses In Defence of The Church of England* (London, 1684). Volume II contains *A View of Some Exceptions which have been made by a Romanist to the L. Visc. Falklands's Discourse of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome* in which Hugh Paulinus Cressy is quoted as professing that 'no such word as infallibility is to be found in any Council: neither did ever the Church enlarge her authority to so vast a wideness' (p.635). Newman has not noticed that this passage is not in fact by Hammond but occurs in the 'Preface to the Reader' by John Pearson (1613-86), scholar and Bishop of Chester. Cressy (1605-74), was an Anglican divine who became a Catholic in 1646 and was subsequently a Benedictine monk.

330. 1 **a great statesman** The style and sentiments of this remark would fit George Canning (1770-1827), Tory politician and eventually Prime Minister; he was a supporter of Catholic Emancipation.

330. 13 **Vasquez** Gabriel Vasquez (1549-1604), Spanish Jesuit theologian.

330. 13 **de Lugo** Cardinal Juan de Lugo (d.1660), Spanish Jesuit theologian.

330. 13 **Lambertini** Prospero Lorenzo Lambertini (1675-1759), antiquarian scholar of renowned erudition, elected Pope in 1740 as Benedict XIV; best remembered for his classic work *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione*.

330. 13 **St.Thomas** Aquinas (1225-1274), theologian, the greatest of the mediaeval Doctors of the Church, the 'doctor angelicus.'

330. 14 **St.Buonaventura** (1221-1274) bishop and theologian; a Doctor of the Church, the 'seraphic doctor.'

330. 30 **Bellarmino** See above Note on p.322. 12.

330. 30 **the Schoolman Scotus** John Duns Scotus (1270-1308), scholastic theologian and philosopher, known as the 'doctor subtilis.'

331. 3 **"authorized version"** a play on the Authorised Version of the Bible.



332. 21 **this able writer** James Martineau (1805-1900), influential Unitarian minister and man of letters; he was a leading contributor to the *Westminster Review* and was later Principal of Manchester New College. He was a friend of Newman's brother, Francis.

333. 5 **Francis Xavier** See above Note on p.61. 2-3.

333. 5 **Philip Neri** See above Note on p.93. 13. For the *Life* Newman is referring to, see above Note on p.210. n.2.

334. 7 **the Mother of Saints a Jezebel** See above Note on p.38. 16-17.

334. 8-9 **griffins and wyverns** See above Note on p.10. 7.

334. 16 **frogs . . . locusts** two of the plagues of Egypt; see Exodus 8, 10.

334. 17 **the plagues of the Apocalypse** See Revelation 15:5-16:21.

334. 21 **Pope Pius VIIth's captivity** Following the annexation of the Papal States in 1809, Pope Pius VII (reigned 1800-23) excommunicated Napoleon who retaliated by having him arrested and forcibly deported to France where he remained until Napoleon's abdication in 1814.

334. 33 - 335. 1 **ex cathedra** Lit. 'from the chair'; see above Note on p.251. 10.

335. 11 **Cardinal Pacca** Bartolommeo Pacca (1756-1844), Cardinal, scholar, and statesman.

335. **papetto . . . grossi** units of currency peculiar to the Papal States.

335. 23-4 **10d . . . 7½d** The literal equivalents in modern British currently are 4½p and just under 4p. However, their real value today is equivalent to several pounds.

335. 28-30 **'Take nothing ... coats apiece.'** Luke 9:3.

336. 4 **General Radet** Baron Etienne Radet (1762-1825), French general who served under Napoleon and conducted Pius VII from Rome to Florence in 1809.

336. 8-9 **the unhappy Concordat with Napoleon** the 'Concordat of Fontainebleau' which Pius VII was forced by Napoleon to sign while in captivity in Fontainebleau in January 1813. This made far-reaching concessions, including the renunciation of the Papal States, but Pius retracted his signature in remorse in March of the same year.

336. n.4 **Head's Pacca** Head, George (trans.), *Historical Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca, prime Minister to Pius VII. Written by himself*, (2 vols, London, 1850).

338. 6 **Pope Marcellinus** reigned 296-304.

338. 6-19 **"In the monstrous . . . was beheaded"** from the lesson for the Office of the feastday, 26<sup>th</sup> April. The translation is Newman's own.

338. 7 **Diocletian persecution** See above Note on p.264. 25.

338. 31-339.1 **"who can have compassion ... with infirmity"** The Letter to the Hebrews 5:2.



338. 24 **Our doctrine of infallibility . . . . Protestants think it means** Newman himself had so misunderstood infallibility in *V.M.*, i, Lecture III, *passim*; he corrected himself in his footnotes to the revised edition. For his later detailed treatment of this subject see *Diff.*, ii, pp.171 ff.

339. 3-4 **it has been said to me, in reference to them in print** by Robert Seeley (1798-1886), publisher and 'religious controversialist, of pronounced Evangelical and anti-Catholic views. Seeley had a public correspondence with Newman in the *Morning Herald* in August 1851 (*L.D.*, XIV, pp.322-9). See the Introduction p.26. Newman names him below (*Prepos*, p.352).

339. 33 **Maria Monks and Teodores** See above Notes on pp.163. 27 and 175. 22.

340. 29-30 **"texts" in Romans iii. or Galatians ii.** See above Note on p.321. 27.

341. 6-7 **"like the horseleech, crying, Give, give:"** Proverbs 30:15: 'The horseleech hath two daughters, crying Give, give'; an image of insatiable greed.

341. 23 **cordon** a ring of security put around some place or persons to prevent contact with them. Newman perhaps has in mind a *cordon sanitaire* to prevent contact with infectious disease.

343. 10 **Calvin** See above Note on p.76. 1.

343. 13 **predestination** the doctrine that only those chosen by God, the 'elect', are to be saved, while the damned, chosen as such by God and through no fault of their own, have

no hope of salvation. For the early influence of this 'detestable doctrine' on Newman himself, see *Apo*, pp.98-9. He had discussed its effects in *U.S.*, pp.146ff.

343. 21 in my first Lecture *Prepos*, p.33ff.

343. 24 **Speaker** the 'chairman' of the House of Commons.

343. 25 **Serjeant-at-arms** an officer of the House of Commons whose original function was to assist the Speaker to keep order among the Members of Parliament. By Newman's time it had become largely a ceremonial post, though M.P.s could (and still can) incur his censure for behaviour which breached the traditions of the House.

343. 26 **the Two Houses** the House of Commons and the House of Lords.

344. 17 **"Worship,"** Catholic theology distinguishes three different types of worship: *latria* when it is addressed directly to God; *dulia* when it is addressed only indirectly to God, that is, when its object is the veneration of martyrs, of angels, or of saints; *hyperdulia* when it is paid to the Blessed Virgin. A certain worship may be offered to even inanimate objects, such as the relics of a martyr, the crucifix, or even the statue or picture of a saint, but not in the same sense as the above types. For a detailed discussion of the subject, see Addis and Arnold, op.cit., entries on 'Cultus' pp.235-6, 'Latria' p.492, 'Images' pp.422-3.

344. 19 **"indulgence"** The classic definition of this term is 'a remission of the punishment which is still due to sin after sacramental absolution, this remission being valid in the court of conscience and before God, and being made by application of the treasure of the Church on the part of a lawful superior' (Amort, *De Origine, Progressu Valore ac Fructu Indulgentiarum* (1735)); see Addis and Arnold, op.cit., pp.434-438. The subject is a



complex one, as Newman's discussion below indicates (*Prepos*, pp.346-9); he carefully revised this part of the text for later editions (see Introduction, p.30, and Textual Appendix I for these pages).

344. 19 **"merit"** See Addis and Arnold, *op.cit.*, pp.554-556.

344. 19 **"intention"** Newman had had a lengthy correspondence in *Aris's Gazette* with Seeley on this subject which hinged on the fact that Seeley misunderstood the term; see *L.D.*, xiv, pp.322-8. For a discussion of the whole topic, see Addis and Arnold, *op.cit.*, pp.717-8.

344. 20 **"scandal"** nothing to do with the common English meaning of the word. In the theological sense it is 'any word or deed having at least the appearance of evil, which is the occasion of sin to another' (see Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 2a 2ae, q.43, a.1). For a full discussion of the term, see Addis and Arnold, *op.cit.* p.727.

344. 20 **"religion"** In the theological sense, this refers to the virtue which deals with giving to God the honour which is his due. It is also used in a quite different sense to designate the state of those such as monks and nuns who have taken vows of poverty, chastity and obedience who are referred to as 'religious'. See *ibid*, p.692.

344. 20 **"obedience"** again, not identical with the everyday English sense. In theological terms it is a virtue or principle of righteous conduct, the moral habit by which one carries out the order of his superior with the precise intent of fulfilling the injunction.

345. 13 ... **though they often do so** This practice died out during the twentieth century.

345. 33 **“omnibus”** a public vehicle; lit. ‘for all’.

346. 4 **levy** originally ‘levée’ (‘rising’).

346. n.8 **Ferraris, Biblioth.** See above Note on p.114. n.5. The sections on indulgences that Newman is referring to are in Vol.5, pp.150-1.

347. 17 **Tetzel** Johann Tetzel (1465- 1519), Dominican preacher of indulgences, attacked by Martin Luther.

347. 20 **Dr.Waddington** See above Note on p.15. 27; the quotation is from his *A History of the Reformation on the Continent* (3 vols, London 1841), i.

349. 20 **Dean Swift’s well-known tale** Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), satirist; *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726), Part III, where Gulliver visits the flying island of Laputa. In the ‘philosophers’ Swift satirises the experimental scientists of his day.

349. 30 **ascension of Sirius** The rising of this star, in Greek *sothis* (the ‘dog-star’) was very important in the ancient Persian and Egyptian calendars, marking the beginning of the ‘sothic period’ of 1,460 years. Since in this calendar the year consisted of 365 days, a day was lost every four years, amounting to a whole year in the course of the sothic period. This year was known as the ‘sothic year’.

350. 16-7 **Benedictines** monks of the rule of St.Benedict (480-547). For Newman’s view of their immense contribution to the development of Christian civilisation, see *H.S.*, ii, 365-487.



350. 17 **Bollandists** the Jesuit editors of the *Lives of the Saints*, a multi-volume work begun in the 17th century and continuing, despite interruption by the French Revolution, right into modern times; the first volume of a new series had been published in 1845. The name came from the Jesuit John Bolland (1596-1665), the first editor of this massive scholarly project.

350. 30-1 **A Scripture reader** such as the one who observed Benediction, Lecture VII.

351. 6-24 **How many are the souls . . . the conveyance of grace!** a striking echo of a passage from Charlotte Brontë's *Villette* published in 1850. The overall tenor of the novel is strongly anti-Catholic, but at one point the Protestant heroine is moved by an impulse to go to Confession, at which she feels that

the mere relief of communication in an ear which was human and sentient, yet consecrated - the mere pouring out of some portion of long accumulating, long pent-up pain into a vessel whence it could not be again diffused - had done me good. I was already solaced. (Worlds Classics Edn, London, 1906, p.184).

352. 10-21 **"If I could follow . . . No Popery!"** The anti-Catholic tract from which Newman is quoting here has not proved traceable, but the passage is typical.

352. n.1. **Mr.Seely** (*sic*) Robert Seeley (see above Note on p.339 3-4 above). Copies of Seeley's letters to the *Morning Herald* in which he makes his charges are in Newman's scrapbook (*O.A.*, B2.1).

354. 26 **griffins and wyverns** See above Note on p.10. 7.

354. 29 **ornithorhynchi** duck-billed platypuses. These animals, found only in Australia, are regarded as curiosities because they are aquatic furry mammals with duck-like beaks and lay eggs like birds. Newman terms them 'antediluvian' because, from their strangeness, they seem to belong to an earlier period of the world's history (literally, before Noah's flood).

354. 31-2 **the John Doe and Richard Roe of the lawyers** fictitious names for the plaintiff and the defendant in cases of the alienation of property, used by convention until the law was changed by the Common Law Procedures Act of 1852.

354. 32 **the Titius and Bertha of the canonists** parallel fictional names used by moral theologians.

355. 7 **the frogs in the fable** one of Aesop's fables about a boy stoning frogs for his amusement.

355. 11 **helots** slaves in ancient Sparta.

356. 3-4 **it was offered by myself to the gentleman** In his letter to Seeley of 5th August 1851 in the *Morning Herald* Newman challenged Seeley's implication that there were unbelieving Catholic priests in Birmingham by affirming the faith of himself and his Oratorian companions and all the other priests in the city at that time whom he listed by name.

356. 17-28 **a number of highly educated Protestants . . . two hundred years ago** members of the Oxford Movement, such as Newman himself; he identifies the Tractarian position held by them as that of the non-jurors of the 17th century.



357. 23ff “**Let them go . . .** This had been Mr.Vincent’s reaction in *Loss and Gain* (p.176); see Introduction p93.

357. 26 **bushel** a measure of capacity equal to 8 gallons (36.4 litres).

359. 2 a **Barbara** a syllogism ‘of which both the major and minor premises, and the conclusion, are universal affirmatives: thus, all animals are mortal; all men are animals; ∴ all men are mortal’ (O.E.D.). In Seeley’s case it would be: ‘one in twelve of all Catholic priests are secret unbelievers; Birmingham contains more than twelve Catholic priests; ∴ one in twelve of the Catholic priests in Birmingham are unbelievers.’

359. 2 **Celarent** a syllogism in which ‘the major premiss and the conclusion are universal negatives, and the minor premiss a universal affirmative’ (O.E.D.). In Seeley’s case it would be: ‘No group of Catholic priests consists entirely of true believers in the faith; you are a group of Catholic priests in Birmingham; ∴ you do not all truly believe in the faith.’

359. 12 **One there was** John Moore Capes (1812-89). Originally an opponent of the Oxford Movement, he was received into the Catholic Church in 1845. During the Papal Aggression crisis he was the chairman of a committee of Catholic laymen set up to campaign in defence of the Church and gave some lectures himself (see Introduction p.14). His later relations with Newman were not always easy: he founded the *Rambler* magazine whose liberal tone caused Newman problems; he sent his son to the Oratory School but disagreed with Newman’s handling of the 1861 crisis over the first headmaster. When he left the Church in 1870 over the definition of Papal Infallibility, he claimed that Newman did not believe it either, an accusation which Newman publicly refuted.

359. 23 **a Protestant church** at Eastover, near Bridgewater, Somerset.

362. 3 **the patriarch Jacob**; see Genesis 28:17.

362. n.3 **returned to the Anglican Church in 1870** Capes had in fact begun to drift back towards Anglicanism from 1858. However, he returned to the Catholic Church in 1882; on his death-bed he received the last rites from an Oratorian, Fr. Philip Gordon.

363. 12-3 **to put our convents . . . on a level with madhouses** The Religious Houses Bill introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Lacy in May 1851 proposed that convents be inspected along the lines of the regular inspection of lunatic asylums.

363. 13-4 **one of the Anglican Prelates** This is characteristic of Charles James Blomfield (1786-1857), Bishop of London, though the phrase itself has not proved traceable.

363. 17-8 **a bill, too, has been passed** the Ecclesiastical Titles Act.

363. n.4 **Written in 1851 . . .** added by Newman to the Fourth Edition (1872).

364. 28 **the Wesleyan Conference** the governing body of the Methodists, meeting annually to elect a Secretary.

366. 12 *ex officio* by virtue of her office

366. 19-20 **All the great authors . . . speak Protestantism** See above Note on p.70. 1ff.



368. 26 **Guy Faux** Fawkes, Guy (1570-1606), chief protagonist of the Gunpowder plot of 1606. By the use of this simile Newman reminds his audience of the anti-Catholic nature of the annual 5<sup>th</sup> November Bonfire Night celebrations, especially those at the height of the 'Papal Aggression' crisis in 1850 when effigies of Cardinal Wiseman and the Pope were literally carried around and burnt. An effigy of the Pope is still burnt today in the Bonfire Night celebrations in the town of Lewes, Sussex.

369. 9 *ipso facto* proved by the fact itself

371. 11 **Titus Oates, Maria Monk, and Jeffreys** See above Notes on pp.266. 2, 163. 27 and 175. 22.

374. 18 **the hulks** prison ships.

374. 26-7 **pack us all out of the kingdom** See above Note on p.197. 26-8.

374. 27 **they could bombard Rome** not the scaremongering by Newman it might seem: at the height of the 'Papal Aggression' crisis, the government was actually urged to declare war on the Papal States by Lord Winchilsea (Public Record Office 30/22/8F: Fortescue to Russell, 11 November 1850; quoted in Chadwick, O., *The Victorian Church*, London 1971, p.295).

375. 11-2 **the theodolite of Laputa** See above Note on p.349. 20.

381. n.5 **the author's Oxford University Sermons, No.V.** 'Personal Influence the Means of Propagating the Truth', preached on 22nd January 1832; a relevant passage reads:

Men persuade themselves, with little difficulty, to scoff at principles, to ridicule books, to make sport of the names of good men; but they cannot bear their presence: it is holiness embodied in personal form, which they cannot steadily confront and bear down: so that the silent conduct of a conscientious man secures for him beholders of a feeling different in kind from any which is created by the mere versatile and garrulous Reason. (*U.S.*, p.92.)

384. 29 **the Queen's speech** the speech given by the Queen at the opening of a new session of Parliament; written by the Prime Minister of the day, it summarises the government's forthcoming legislative programme.

386. 1-2 **Maria Monk** See above Note on p. 163. 27.

386. 4-6 **Jeffreys . . . Whitwick** See above Note on p.175. 22.

387. 10 **Exeter Hall** See above Note on p.19. 25.

388. 4 **Hunt-the-slipper** a traditional parlour game.

388. 5-6 **"sound and fury, signifying nothing"** *Macbeth* Act V, Scene v, l.27-8.

388. 10-11 **Trust neither Assyria nor Egypt** the powerful states to the north and south of Israel respectively; in the Old Testament the Prophets continually warned the Israelites against putting their trust in military alliances with them. By analogy, therefore, Newman means any powerful elements in contemporary Britain, possibly even referring directly to the two political parties.



388. 25-6 diffusing "the sweet odour of His knowledge in every place:" a slight misquotation of II Corinthians 2:14: 'Now thanks be to God, who always maketh us to triumph in Christ Jesus and manifesteth the odour of his knowledge by us in every place.'

389. 25 Attica the region of ancient Greece which contained the city of Athens, where Plato, Aristotle and other philosophers taught. For Newman's view on the profound influence of Athens, see *H.S.*, iii, pp.75-87.

389. 26 Elias Elijah (see 1 Kings 17 - 2 Kings 2). Newman uses the Latin version of the name used in the Douay Bible.

389. 27 Athanasius St.Athanasius (296-373), bishop and Doctor of the Church, champion of Catholic orthodoxy against the Arian heresy; his career features in Newman's first published work, *The Arians of the Fourth Century* (1832). Newman translated *Select Treatises of St.Athanasius* (1842), the Third Edition of which was the last work he revised before his death. Newman had a deep admiration for this saint, ranking him with St.Augustine and St.Thomas Aquinas as great minds who had formed Catholic theology (see *Apologia*, p.285).

389. 27 Leo Pope St.Leo the Great (d.461), champion of Catholic orthodoxy against the Eutychian heresy; his 'tome' on the nature and person of Christ was the basis of the doctrine proclaimed by the Council of Chalcedon. Newman had described these dramatic events in *Dev.*, Ch.6, Section 3. See also *Apo*, pp.182-4 for how the role of the 'majestic Leo' in the Monophysite controversy gave Newman his first serious doubt about the Church of England.

390. 1 **Fear not, little flock** See Jesus' words of encouragement to his disciples, Luke 12:32.

390. 2-3 **for he who is mighty . . . great things** a paraphrase of part of the Magnificat (Luke 1:49); Newman's Catholic audience are thus paralleled with the Blessed Virgin Mary.

390. 4-6 **"a mouth, and wisdom . . . to resist and gainsay"** Luke 21:15.

390. 6-7 **"There is a time for silence, and a time to speak"** See above Note on p.iii. 10.

390. 9 **"better gifts"** I Corinthians 12:31.

390. 11 **a napkin** In the Parable of the Talents, the man who did nothing with the talent given to him by his master kept it 'laid up in a napkin'; see Luke 19:20.

390. 11-12 **your light under a bushel** See Matthew 5:15.

390. 32 – 391. 1 **they saved the Irish Church three centuries ago ... our people were cowards** A reference to events in England under Elizabeth I when the Catholic bishops appointed under Mary were imprisoned while there was no widespread popular opposition to the re-imposition of Protestantism. In Ireland, however, the people remained fiercely loyal to the Catholic faith in the face of English domination. This critical reference to the English Catholic laity may seem surprising, given Newman's celebrated championing of the role of the laity (for instance in his 1859 article *On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine*). However, it perhaps reflects some frustration on his part at the limited scale of an organised response by Catholic laymen to the Papal Aggression crisis (see



Introduction, p.14). The whole passage has often been read as a plea for education to be opened up to the Catholic laity and not reserved for clerics. However, Newman is in fact addressing a severe exhortation to the laity themselves. His implication is that they must not betray the Church by their inaction as they did at the time of the Reformation, and his comment that 'in all times the laity have been the measure of the Catholic spirit' is thus double-edged.

391. 25 – 392. 13 **Cultivation of mind . . . true of a Catholic** This passage strikingly anticipates a central argument of the 'Discourses on the Nature and Scope of a University Education' which Newman was to compose as his inaugural lectures as Rector of the Catholic University in Dublin; see especially *Idea*, pp.165-81. He had already discussed this question in *U.S.*, pp.40-1.

393. 8-9 **Methodism is ridiculous, so is Puritanism** Newman perhaps has in mind the excesses of 'enthusiasm' associated with early Methodism; the name itself was a nickname making fun of the 'methodical' approach to the spiritual life of Wesley and his followers. Early Presbyterians were called Puritans by their opponents to satirise their belief of being the only pure form of Christianity. Later in common English usage the term became associated with their severe dress code and censorious attitudes. *Twelfth Night's* Malvolio is the classic ridiculous Puritan.

394. 7 *noli æmulari* Proverbs 3.31: 'Envy not [the unjust man].'

394. 13 **a year since, when I said . . .** See *Diff.*, i, pp.29-30:

As to the Catholic Church herself, no vicissitude of circumstances can hurt her which allows her fair play. If, indeed, from the ultimate resolution of all heresies and errors into some one form of infidelity or scepticism, the nation was strong

enough to turn upon her in persecution, then indeed she might be expelled before now. Then persecution would do its work, as it did three centuries ago. But this is an extreme case, which is not to be anticipated.

394. 23-4 “Greater is He that is in you than he that is in the world.” 1 John 4:4.

395. 26. **St.Athanasius** See above Note on p.389. 27.

395. 28 **St.Chrysostom** See above Note on p.20. 28.

395. 28 **St.Basil** See above Note on p.22. 1.

395. 29 **St.Gregory of Nazianzus** (329-390) bishop and Doctor of the Church; known as ‘The Theologian’. For Newman’s view of him, see *H.S.*, ii, pp.50-93 where he sums him up as ‘as great theologically as he is personally winning’; also *Ari*, pp.380-8.

395. 29 **St.Augustin** [*sic*] See above Note on p.21. 1.

395. 29 **St.Ambrose** (334-397), bishop and Doctor of the Church; a Roman governor who was elected Bishop of Milan, his sermons greatly influenced St.Augustine. For Newman’s detailed account of Ambrose, with a number of extracts from his works, see *H.S.*, i, 342-374.

395. 30 **St.Jerome** (342-420), Doctor of the Church; responsible for the ‘Vulgate’ Latin translation of the Bible.

395. 31 **St.Benedict** See above Note on p.350. 16-7.



395. 32 **St.Leo** See above Note on p.389. 27.

395. 32 **St.Gregory the First** Pope St.Gregory the Great (540-604), Doctor of the Church; reforming Pope who, amongst other things, sent St.Augustine to convert the English. Newman is thinking of him for what he did, not for his thought, since he 'has no place in dogma or philosophy' (*Apo.*, p.296). For Newman's view of him as expressing in his life the characteristic policy of the papacy, see *H.S.*, iii, pp.126-137.

395. 32 **St.Romuald** (950-1027), abbot; monastic reformer. Hurrell Froude's painting of St.Romuald and his companions was acquired by Newman after Froude's death and still hangs in Newman's room in the Birmingham Oratory. Newman may once again be glancing about him as he writes.

396. 1 **St.Gregory the Seventh** See above Note on p.78. 9.

396. 1 **St.Bernard** of Clairvaux (1090-1153), abbot, Doctor of the Church; monastic reformer, founder of the Cistercian order, theologian.

396. 1 **St.Francis** of Assisi (1181-1226).

396. 1-2 **St.Thomas of Aquinum** See above note on p.330. 13.

396. 2 **St.Ignatius** Loyola (1491-1556), founder of the Jesuits.

396. 2 **St.Vincent of Paul** (1580-1660), founder of the Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians) and the Sisters of Charity. Newman first seriously encountered St.Vincent's

influence when he visited Paris en route to Rome in 1846 and was greatly attracted by his personality and his mission (see *L.D.*, p.247, fn.1). A picture of the saint later hung above Newman's prie-dieu.

396. **it is like the first age of the Church . . .** The lengthy historical comparison that follows is a favourite method of argument with Newman; his most celebrated use of it is in *Dev* where he describes the Church of earlier ages in terms which apply equally to the Church of his own time, thus implying the identity of the two. His description of the first century Church here in *Present Position* has echoes of his earlier description of it:

if there is a form of Christianity now in the world which is accused of gross superstition . . . which is considered to burden and enslave the mind by its requisitions, to address itself to the weak-minded and ignorant, to be supported by sophistry and imposture, and to contradict reason and exalt mere irrational faith; ... a religion such, that men look at a convert to it with a feeling which no other denomination raises . . . viz. with curiosity, suspicion, fear, disgust, as the case may be, as if something strange had befallen him, as if he had had an initiation into a mystery, and had come into communion with dreadful influences, as if he were now one of a confederacy which claimed him, absorbed him, stripped him of his personality . . . ; a religion which men hate as proselytizing, anti-social, revolutionary, as dividing families, separating chief friends . . . it is not unlike Christianity as that same world viewed it, when first it came forth from its Divine Author. (*Dev*, pp.246-7)

396.21 **the words of the Psalm** Psalm 74(73):7-10.

397.29-30 **washed their robes . . . in the blood of the Lamb** See Revelation 7:14.



398. 7 **St.Justin** See above Note p.126. 12.

398. 10-11 **St.Alban** (d.209), protomartyr of Britain, in the Roman city of Verulamium; the city of St.Albans grew up around the monastery which housed his shrine.

398. 14 **St.Hermenegild** (d.585) son of the king of Spain, was brought up an Arian but converted to Catholicism. His 'rash acts' occurred in his subsequent war against his Arian father who, after a temporary reconciliation, eventually had him executed.

398. 18-9 **our own St.Thomas à Becket**. See above Note on p.65. 3-4.

398. 26-7 **martyr-priests . . . first bloody revolution** From 1792 onwards many priests who refused to accept the Civil Consitution of the Clergy were persecuted and hundreds died. Many also suffered in the ruthless suppression of the rising of the Vendée. A number have since been canonised.

398. 32 **the late Archbishop of Paris** Mgr.Denis-August Affre (1793-1848). Originally very agitated by the revolutionary events of the 'June Days', he achieved a sudden serenity after a night spent in prayer and went out into the streets on Sunday 25th June to mediate between the workers and the military. He successfully negotiated a truce which lasted about an hour, but shooting broke out again following a misunderstanding and he was hit by a shot from the soldiers behind him. He died the following day. Newman had met him in Paris in 1846 (see *L.D.*, vol.XI, p.244); Affre 'embraced me on the right and left shoulder' (ibid., p.246).

399. 15 **"white-robed army"** the 'martyrum candidatus . . . exercitus' of the *Te Deum* (which is quoting Rev 7).

399. 21 **as the Wise man says** The quotation is from the Book of Wisdom 4:13 which was traditionally ascribed to Solomon.

399. 22-3 **“ran to and fro like sparks among the reeds”** Wisdom 3:7.

400. 32 – 401. 1 **“the heathen’s jest”** from Newman’s own poem ‘The Patient Church’. The opening stanza reads: ‘Bide thou thy time! / Watch with meek eyes the race of pride and crime, / Sit in the gate, and be the heathen’s jest, / Smiling and self-possessed. / O thou, to whom is pledged a victor’s sway, / Bide thou the victor’s day!’ (V.V., p.92); in the First Edition Newman had made the source of his phrase more obvious by quoting the whole of lines 3 and 4. As with his quotation of Keble, above p.69, Newman now re-applies to Catholicism lines which originally had an Anglican context.

401. 8 **“the little ewe lamb”** See Note on p.183. 11-13 above. Newman is suggesting a parallel between the anti-Catholic government and King David who stole Uriah the Hittite’s wife (the ‘ewe lamb’ of the parable the prophet Samuel told to reprove him). The government is treating Catholics unjustly by trying to deprive them of the one precious thing they have, the apostolic succession in the persons of the newly restored hierarchy. The use of the ‘ewe lamb’ as a pathetic image of a poor person’s sole remaining possession had become a literary commonplace.

401. 10 **“Let alone Camarina, for ‘tis best let alone.”** ‘μη κινει Καμαριναν’, a warning by the Delphic oracle to the people of Camarina in Sicily who had asked if they should drain the pestiferous marshes, also called Camarina, around their town. They ignored the warning, with disastrous results. The saying became a proverb against interfering with something which is bad in case you make it worse. It therefore means ‘let



sleeping dogs lie.' It is quoted as 'Ne moveas Camerinam' by Walter Scott, in *Guy Mannering*, (1885 edn., p.129) from which Newman had quoted in Lecture I; see above note on p.7. n.1.

401. 13-4 **a sagacious statesman and monarch of our own time** The identity of this monarch is uncertain. The words Newman quotes have not proved traceable. However, since he merely says that 'a story goes about', he may in any case be using his own words rather than quoting directly from an attributable source.

401. 22 **Prince Talleyrand** Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754-1838), French politician and diplomat, formerly a bishop.

408. 23 **Dr.Hinds** Samuel Hinds (1793-1872), Bishop of Norwich. See *L.D.*, 375-6, 384-7, 397. The correspondence between Newman and Hinds was published not only in the *Morning Chronicle* (21<sup>st</sup> October 1851) but also in *The Tablet* (25<sup>th</sup> October 1851), *The Rambler* (VIII, December, 1851) and as a pamphlet, *A Correspondence between the Rev.J.H.Newman, D.D., and the Bishop of Norwich on the credibility of Miracles* (Birmingham, 1851).

## TEXTUAL APPENDICES

### *(a) Appendix 1: Textual Variants*

The following list contains all the variants of the First Edition to be found in the Sixth. The reading to the left of the square bracket belongs to the Sixth Edition. Where a Sixth Edition reading stands unaccompanied by any variant to the right (and without a square bracket), this means that it is an addition to the First Edition. Trivial variations in capitalising, punctuation and spelling have been ignored.

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
vi	14-15	The Oratory, 1851
ix	15	Protestants] They
xi	2-3	already
	14	even
	23	to second third and fourth] to the first, second and third
xii	19	apprehends] knows
xiii	1	The Author] He
	3-4	If anywhere he has been led to do so, it has been in cases] He has been led to do so in cases
	13	ORATORY, BIRMINGHAM,
xv	6	INSUFFICIENT FOR] unequal to
	10	THE INTELLECTUAL GROUND OF] the Intellectual Instrument of
	12	IGNORANCE CONCERNING] Want of Intercourse with
3	31	these] them
4	18	misconception] variety of misconception



5	32	the young] all the young
6	6-7	in a measure, everyone (as I may say)] everyone (as I may say), in a measure,
	9	be] is
	11	to be
	23	one man is] they are
	25	he] they
	29	he has] they have
7	9	tales, <sup>1</sup> ] tales
		<sup>1</sup> Guy Mannering
9	1	own
	11	matter
11	19	or be
	26	from
	33	was
	33	is
13	4	and
15	28-29	History <sup>4</sup> ] History
		<sup>4</sup> Ch.xiii.
17	2	certain
	32	even
19	18	middle] middling
	30	be lost] die
24	12	is] are
	13	its] their

	14	it is] they are
	25	which it elicited] made to him in consequence of it
25	8-9	of parallel greatness and excellence, in its degree and place] in its degree and place, of parallel greatness and excellence
	28	practitioners] the instruments of those
26	4	writers] histories
	31	once
31	14	Blackstone] writer
32	15	a statement] an indecency
34	2	blasphemous] impure
42	15	intellects] men
	19	philosophical] intellectual
43	8	at
	10	shut out] ignore
	17	Englishmen] they
	18	they] Englishmen
44	5	pure
	23	England] they
	25	England does] they do
46	22	held] said
	23	held] said
47	2	closely shut against] close to
50	4	in the face
	7-8	has been so ruled long ago] is a foregone conclusion
	19	countrymen] population
	22	their own] one
	27	only one] one only



	29	men of this generation] the national mind
51	11	at] at the date of
	13	ancients] elders
	22	up] back
	31	doctrines and commandments] for doctrines the commandments
52	9	warrant and verify] avouch and warrant
	30	this] my
	31	is in itself] though not an argumentative, is, at least,
53	1	induced] led
	10	is a certain] are a
	17	even to himself] nor, if he can help it, own even to himself
	27	viz
54	24	find] will find
55	7	in the world
	8	had done with it themselves] themselves had done with it
	18-19	nor does its tradition live upon its establishment
	23-24	and its tradition
56	8	indeed, allege in explanation of the fact] say, indeed, that such an occurrence is at least conceivable, for this reason
	25-27	if possible, to make that national which as yet is not national, and which, without that patronage,] to make, if possible, that national which was not national before it, and without it
	27-28	in the case of Protestantism
59	5	Evangelical] Evangelicals
	19	the religious state of
	22	their] its
	26-27	advantageously distinguishes] distinguishes the manly and generous heart of]

60	10	by numbers
	12	all] at all
	20-21	remarkable] magnanimous
	24	had
62	6	of faith
	21	whom
63	26	try] strive
64	11-12	acceptableness] reception
	29	establishment] consolidation
65	8	but
	30	on her side, over and above,] with her, other
66	21	its
67	2	in all things] to every thing
	18	begin
	27	superstition.] superstition. Let the Protestant paint up Popery, and the profligate will take it for virtue.
68	10	which has made] and pursuits which make
	14	life] genius
69	2	in this country
	21	distinct] the most various
70	12	luminous] illuminate
	16	brilliant] exuberant
	28	and this is true] nay
71	2-4	others may frame its laws;" and its proverbs are the produce of its literature.] I shall have my own way with it." This has been strikingly fulfilled in the Protestantism of England.
	5	of] and
	8-9	the philosophers] philosophy



	11	century] era
72	3	forsooth
	6	must plead
	11	That Religion] It
	14	has] is
74	5	much] he knows it much
	16	social uses] civil importance
75	4	opened] open
	11	almost the] the special
	14	specially] mainly
76	1	Wesleyans] Methodists
	4	own
	7	is infallible, on one it may securely insist without fear of being unseasonable or excessive,] may rest without any mistake
	18	special
77	15	Holy Father] Pope
<p><sup>1</sup> The foregoing Lecture in 1851 was, by an accidental coincidence, written simultaneously with an able pamphlet by Serjeant Bellasis, <i>apropos</i> of the conduct of the Anglican clergy of the day.] <sup>1</sup> Vide an amusing and cogent argument, entitled "The Anglican Bishops versus the Catholic Hierarchy." Toovey, 1851.</p>		
	21	if ever] when
	22	whether
78	15	inspection and
	29	reject it and protest against] refuse to admit
	31	circumvent] deceive
80	25	under] by
81	16-17	(what may be called)
83	10	are] is

84	8-9	externally to our own island it has happened otherwise] it has happened otherwise externally to our own island
	10-11	is not at least] at least is not
	12	ours
	13	originally] once
86	19	Swift] Burnet
87	2	incidentally
89	15	the Tradition] it
	16	us] Catholics
90	27-28	even if I took on myself to do so, till I was] when I had not been
	29	occasion] date
91	8-9	advancing] saying
	27	prison] the house of correction
92	3	then to the case of a second priest] moreover to the case of another
93	25	its own evidence with it] their own evidence with them
95	27	inaccurate] misinformed
	28	fairly
96	7	scarcely venture, in these Lectures,] think it imprudent
99	15-16	notwithstanding, he is content to rely] still he simply relies
102	21-2	we have already seen used] had already been adopted
103	2	Jortin
104	13	who] while he
107	1	as Dr.Robertson thinks] what Robertson calls
	26-30	after surveying the whole course of the exposure - I could not help expressing to myself my intense misgivings that the efforts of Dr.Waddington and Dr.Maitland to do justice to the saint would be in vain.] after all, I could not help expressing to myself, after surveying the whole course of their exposure, my intense misgivings that their efforts would be in vain.



108	11	recklessly ... blindly] ... traditionally
	12	luminously] emphatically
109	1	men avow] one avows
	3	as its conductors
	4	are] is
	5	their] his
	9	they] he
	11	their] his
	12	do they] does he
	18	they] he
	19	they protest ... they had] he protests ... he has
	21	do they] does he
	22	them] him
	28-29	and infallible, the guides] the guide
	30	see] sees
	33	themselves] himself
110	4	these accomplished writers] this accomplished writer
	5	their] his
	16	the writer] he
	29	proclaims] gives out
111	12	scandalous] great
112	11-12	great and public] serious
	22	such a sinner] a man
	28	only in one of them, - viz.,
	29	in this Sacrament, in] here
113	32-3	deprived of Penance and of Holy Eucharist,] from Penance, Holy Eucharist, and Extreme Unction,

114	6	in idea
	8-9	Something like
	14	whom he had offended, he was not publicly reconciled] perhaps he could not be fully reconciled without sending to Rome
	16	he received the priest's reconciliation to the Church and to God] and was admitted to communion
	18	pontifical] external
115	10	testimony] witness
117	3	dated] signed
118	9	came the Tradition] it came
119	25	loungers, gossipers] gossipers, loungers
		‘It is undeniable] ‘It is true
120		‘... the scientific report, which our accuser brings forward, and] ‘... his builders’
	16	needs] needed
121	26	we know it] it is said
122	29	knows me
125	9	town] place
	19	utterly
	29	must be maintained as] is
126	14-5	is the result of criticism on passages] criticism makes of a passage
	23	term] terms
127		INSUFFICIENT FOR] UNEQUAL TO
	12	charged] alleged
128	15	misgivings about] suspicion of
	19-20	have not the means of communicating] cannot communicate
129	1	in the controversy
	4	falsehood] fraud



	10	tactics] <i>tactique</i>
	10-11	No inferior charge] Nothing else
	12	had recourse to] adopted
130	15	men] they
	16	into the Church, and then they fall] but they fall away
	21	from grace] away
	32	there are ... who may be] may if so be
131	13	constitution] structure
	16	ubiquitous] in many places at once
	17	wish to] would
132	16	may
	24	drunken] drunk
133	16	priests that] that priests
135	4	universal] perfect
	8	soon] lief
	11-12	assert ... assert] deny ... deny [ <i>corrected to 'assert ... assert' in an erratum slip, inserted before Lecture I, which describes the original wording as 'an error of composition ... which is important, though the sense of the passage is sufficiently clear'</i> ]
	16	the Protestant clergy] Protestant bodies
	18	testimonial ... safeguard] warrant ... preventive
	19	against ... against] of ... of
	21	merely
	23	a
136	16-18	marriage, as so many persons prefer Teetotalism to the engagement to observe Temperance.] marriage. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As so many persons prefer Teetotalism to the Temperance principle.

137	6	a few
	27-8	Torquemada] Ximenes
138	25	not more, perhaps less] just as much and just as little
	26	than] as
140	23	only ... only
	25	Even
141	20	then] these
	20-21	sort of men we really are] the persons really are like
	22	wish to ] would
	27	proved] attained
	28	definite] definitive
142	5	meeting] having met
	6	obtaining] obtained
143	9	simply
	20	for which others were the authority] on the authority of others
144	1-2	the time I speak of
	30	its] his
	31	its] his
145	7	were] are
	33	subject] partner
146	1	an Apostasy from the Catholic Faith.
147	16	private] secret places
	24	joy ... reward] joys ... rewards
		<sup>2</sup> ...his] <sup>2</sup> ...the
148	7	too
	7	the presence] the very presence
	8	on their own course] their own way

	9	behind them
149	33	an] a
150	4	it may be] probably
	18	alluded to] observed
	19	fascination of sin] sinful excitement
152	7	would be] is
	15	to] of
	31	infer] argue
		<sup>2</sup> On one occasion he] <sup>2</sup> He
153	21-22	he certainly thought] rightly or wrongly, he thought
		<sup>6</sup> ... number ... diocese] <sup>6</sup> ...numbers ... dioceses
		<sup>6</sup> ... by the very form of his words,
		<sup>6</sup> ... (and my friend as well as his)
		<sup>6</sup> ... Dr.Whately's party] that number
		<sup>6</sup> ... though in fact it seems to have been no larger than the small band of Apostates, boasted of by the "Priests' Protection Society" in Dublin.
154	4	then
	9	from the nature of the case
		<sup>7</sup> ... presently
155		<sup>8</sup> ... ought] <sup>8</sup> ... is
		<sup>8</sup> ... This being the case, his <i>intention</i> in consecrating and administrating the sacraments was valid, even though he was an unbeliever.
		<sup>8</sup> ... I say all this in order to show what little bearing the unbelief of this small knot of priests had upon the Catholic population among whom they lived.
156	9-15	but are not more, after all, than Protestants have scraped together and made apostates of, out of the zealous Catholic clergy of Ireland; and, as no one dreams of taking such melancholy cases as specimens of the Irish Church, neither are Mr.Blanco White's friends specimens of the Spanish. He] Mr.Blanco White



	16	still] though
	16-17	and I for one cannot receive his second-hand information. However, in any case,] but then
157	1	they
	2	stem] resist
	14	diocese of Seville] arch-diocese
	20	would
158		<sup>3</sup> ... has
		<sup>3</sup> ... the soul] <sup>3</sup> ... which
		<sup>3</sup> ... to show that this really is his meaning, and he adds] <sup>3</sup> ... and
		<sup>4</sup> ... allowing, for argument's sake,] <sup>4</sup> ... taking
		<sup>4</sup> ... even if granted
160	2	Protestant
	16	contain] have
	26-28	men ... men ... men ... their ... their] we ... we ...we ... our ...our
161	12-13	sorts ... sorts] manner ... manner
162	12	was] is
	13	penitent
163	9	so will she henceforth speak of it
164	4	on] in
	26	town] very place
167	1	Of course] And
	20	morbid] unhealthy
	23	that ... are ] ... to be
168	21	the natural and ordinary] natural, and the ordinary
	23-24	She makes ... to be] They make

	25	the very extravagance of her statements] their very extravagance
	29	writer or
171	19-21	he never hinted from any experience of his, that in matter of fact they did make any sinful suggestions.
	25	as regards] in the case of
175	8-9	Protestant public] people
	9-10	its preference of Maria Monk to Blanco White] their award
	15	Inhabitants] Men
	18	similar] the same
	21	to the calumnies] as this
176	21	does but prejudice] is no aid to
	22	a period] an era
	23	there] therein
180	6	a mode of treating] an observance in relation to
181	9	applied gunpowder, and
183	19	distress] disquiet
184	3	in fact
	8-9	and ... is] and is
185	16	John or James] son
186	31	could] would
	33	almost
188	3	to] in
191	15	which was]
	16-17	which imposed] forcing upon
193	14	themselves.] themselves, like the boy in the story, who went and told of his playmate, who was before him in stealing the gooseberry pie.
	24	sent up

194	5	line of conduct] proceeding
	23	proposal ... for] talk ... of
195	10	had
	27	of
	24	party] party <sup>3</sup>
... <sup>3</sup> The μισητος στασις of Mr.Froude: vid. Lyra Apostolica, 133.		
197	6	to be for
	27	proposed by] of
199	7	of
	10	themselves ... them] them ... themselves
	30	it is] is it
200	15	Such is the style of] So it is with
	20	from
	23	from
201	18	where] when
203	10	the] this
	17	Lord Chancellor] Queen
<sup>4</sup> ... Church, p.53. I am told (1872) the Archbishop never owned the authorship of this able volume.] <sup>4</sup> ... Church, p.53.		
204	11-12	annoying to the private circle and painful to the relatives] painful to the private circle and the living relations
	26	and ... and] in ... and
206	9	must] will
	29-30	ourselves] us
208	2	birth] production
	2	am?" <sup>6</sup> ] am?"

<sup>6</sup> The paragraphs omitted are those which were decided by jury to



3

\* \* \* \* \*] I have been a Catholic and an infidel; I have been a Roman priest and a hypocrite; I have been a profligate under a cowl. I am that Father Achilli, who, as early as 1826, was deprived of my faculty to lecture, for an offence which my superiors did their best to conceal; and who in 1827 had already earned the reputation of a scandalous friar. I am that Achilli, who in the diocese of Viterbo in February, 1831, robbed of her honour a young woman of eighteen; who in September, 1833, was found guilty of a second such crime, in the case of a person of twenty-eight; and who perpetrated a third in July, 1834, in the case of another aged twenty-four. I am he, who afterwards was found guilty of sins, similar or worse, in other towns of the neighbourhood. I am that son of St. Dominic who is known to have repeated the offence at Capua, in 1834 or 1835; and at Naples again, in 1840, in the case of a child of fifteen. I am he who chose the sacristy of the church for one of these crimes, and Good Friday for another. Look on me, ye mothers of England, a confessor against Popery, for ye 'ne'er may look upon my like again.' I am that veritable priest, who, after all this, began to speak against, not only the Catholic faith, but the moral law, and perverted others by my teaching. I am the Cavaliere Achilli, who then went to Corfu, made the wife of a tailor faithless to her husband, and lived publicly and travelled about with the wife of a chorus-singer. I am that Professor of the Protestant College at Malta, who with two others was dismissed from my post for offences which the authorities cannot get themselves to describe. And now attend to me, such as I am, and you shall see what you shall see about the barbarity and profligacy of the Inquisitors of Rome."

You speak truly, O Achilli, and we cannot answer you a word. You are a Priest; you have been a Friar; you are, it is undeniable, the scandal of Catholicism, and the palmary argument of Protestants, by your extraordinary depravity. You have been, it is true, a profligate, an unbeliever, and a hypocrite. Not many years passed of your conventual life, and you were never in choir, always in private houses, so that the laity observed you. You were deprived of your professorship, we own it; you were prohibited from preaching and hearing confessions; you were obliged to give hush-money to the father of one of your victims, as we learn from the official report of the Police of Viterbo. You are reported in an official document of the Neapolitan Police to be "known for habitual incontinency;" your name came before the civil tribunal at Corfu for your crime of adultery. You have put the crown on your offences, by, as long as you could, denying them all; you have professed to seek after truth, when you were ravening after sin.

209	10	Not doting, but untrustworthy.] He is not doting, but he is false.
	16	trust] listen to
212	20	and which Catholics themselves] or which the world
213	10	in fact virtually] secretly

214	1	it seems
	13	that
	17-18	themselves
	21-22	Anglican] Protestant
	25	Christianity] Protestantism
215	6	absent] away
	24-5	outlawry, forfeiture] outlawry, in civil matters, forfeiture
	26	British Law] the British Constitution
216	14-15	they tore out his heart] his heart was being torn out
218	8	numbered.] numbered. <sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> "If you talk to me of the intolerance of Rome, or the horrors of the Inquisition," says Mr. Moore, M.P. for Mayo, in a late letter to the "Times" about Ireland, "I can submit to your inspection the original of *an Act of Parliament, passed unanimously by a whole Protestant Legislature, bishops and all*, which subjected the whole priesthood of a whole people to obscene and horrible mutilation."

219	5	on] in
	21	only] but
220	3	not of] not that of
	24	deny, that what is a stigma in their case is even a scandal in ours.] deny, to use a vulgar but expressive proverb, that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.
221	21	the duty of maintaining the truth
	29	river-side] stream
	30	conduct] wisdom
	30-31	Not to put the matter on higher and doctrinal grounds,
	32-33	injustice and cruelty] persecution
222	1-2	direct impulses, which it is impossible from the nature of man to destroy.] head a movement, which it is impossible to suppress.
	11	ideas] impulses



	12	ignore] deny
224	10	Catholicism] The Catholic Church
	12	vivid as the Church] captivating as she is
	17	preternatural] superhuman
	24	so far
	31-32	not only be made, but must
225	3	impeachment] accusation
	4	made] prefer
	4	impeachment they make] accusation they prefer
	22	for him
	26	something inflammatory
226	9	fiction] fictions
	15	the full
	20	have been] are
227	10	reckoned] considered
	14-15	and in spite of their subsequent demolition] which work their demolition has no tendency to undo
228	3	when] should
229	15	yet
	30	should] if
230	5	Providence] Being
	6	and it is true] and true
	27-28	comes of the perpetual talk against Catholics. It] the perpetual talk against Catholicism is doing in England. The clatter
231	13	incessantly] ever
	30-31	has any continued connexion with] depends on
232	5	this] it



	6	to be] is
	6	indeed
234	2	the] a
	22	mind] person
	26	its] his
235	27	moral
	29	commit themselves in the eyes of the whole world, would rather involve themselves in the most patent incongruities and absurdities, would rather make sport, as they do by their conduct, for their enemies in the four quarters of the earth] commit any weakness and incongruity, would rather make fun, as they do, for the whole world by their conduct,
236	6	being blamed for] the blame of
	9-14	This risk, as far as I am incurring it myself in these Lectures, I cannot help; I cannot help if, in exposing the prejudice of my countrymen, I incur the imputation of using satire against them; I do not wish to do so; and] This I cannot help; but
	15	matter] objects
	25	narrow, ungenerous spirit] superincumbent quality
237	31	and puts] and simply puts
	32	receiving] taking
238	1	by some friend
	2	by some opponent
	3-4	then says] goes on saying
	4	only
	5-6	He becomes more intensely and enthusiastically positive
	9	in the universe
	22	feeling of pleasure] satisfaction
	29	upon him
239	5	thinks] says
	29	To bring

	29	he thinks] as he thinks
240	15	even
	30	upon] of
241	14	good] candid
	17	candour and
	30	got] get
242	8	or only before the Reformation
	26	hidden] hid
	27	the possible existence of
243	3	the] this
	5	denies that] denies the fact that
244	6	to Rome] home
	21	great
245	29	they die to him] he dies to them
249	29	on] upon
250	8	has so often] so often has
	12	communicated] been
251	8	Joannæ] Joanni
	12-13	by his imagination
	15-16	or the figure of Religion in the vestibule of St.Peter's
	17	claim] claims
252	5	it was] it was but
	20	bad ... good] good ... bad
	27	are a disgrace to] tell against
	10	In one man] One time
	10-11	in ... in ... in] at ... at ... at
254	6	the Oratory] our Congregation

	31-32	one of the January Saints] St.Paul the first hermit
	32	for] as
256	33	handle] lift
257	17-18	(I am quoting the very words of his journal)
258	10	is placed] was
	16-19	and he seems to think it in some way connected with the season of the year, the Epiphany, when the Star appeared to the Wise Men.
259	2	know it
260	23	something like
	25-27	☞ <i>First a young priest setteth up a golden, diamond-like star, with a lamp in it, sticking it on the top of a candlestick; then he lighteth]</i> first, a young priest lighteth
	30	<i>the star]</i> a gold, diamond-like star, with a lamp in it, stuck on the top of a candlestick
261	24-25	at all
264	29	us] them
265	7	that
	26	a man would not] no one would
	27	he] they
268	2	favoured] followed
271	15	its great] the great Catholic
272	2	towards liking] to like
	23	melancholy to] melancholy, as they feel, to
273	4	virtue of penances] merit of celibacy
	12	ever] even
	30	anything] any
274	11	motives] objects
	12	motive] object



	13	<i>motive] object</i>
	15	cheats] swindlers
275	10	which ... enveloping] over which ... brooding
	11	for an instant
	20-21	a hindrance in our path] in our way
	22	ground] reason
	26	disembowel] embowel
	31	in favour of "Reason"] in its favour
	32	the Irrational
276	13	and
	20	has far greater influence with ... with] exists far more among ... among
	25-6	sound or unsound
	28	then
277	5	by inference
	18	last] of last
278	4	particular
	6-7	there was reason for doing] invited to do
	33	God cannot punish in hell] the Divine Being is not moved by prayer
279	3	within the reach of] across
	11	some fault of his own] his own fault
280	13	they were
	15	their] the
281	12	have
	33	become a proficient] improve yourself
283	1	had] if
	4	former] other
	11	common] general

	22	themselves
284	3	aims] objects
	4	religions] religion
	5-6	As determined by ... such is] According to ... is
	14	which
	18	he is very likely not to be] it is very likely he is not
	20	at all
	27	from] upon
285	6	as this
	16-17	from each other
	26	a First Principle] one
286	12	which shows] showing
288	3-4	not content ... you <i>will</i> ] you will not be content ... but will
288-9	33-1	on rising up from the study
292	4	are] were
	11-12	which, when they set out they professed] which they professed, when they set out
	23-5	said, such as the First principles of morals, not peculiar or proper to the individual, but the rule of the world, because] said, not peculiar or proper to the individual, but the rule of the world, such as the First principles of Morals, because
293	8	those views] they
	9	to] in
	17-18	standards] judges
294	6	the common way of carrying] the way to carry
295	32	or does not partake
296	6	to
	21	abroad

	22	beef-steak] rump-steak
	28	revives] revises
	30	key] interpretation
	30	who
297	1	by little doses or great, if] or
	12	distinct] distant
300	32-33	here what one party urges, the other admits; they] it is agreed to on both sides: the two parties
302	8	such] the
	12	or “because what looked like a miracle was not a miracle;”
	27	such
303	7	acts] powers
	10	for them
305	8	intelligible] sensible
	30	is there to be imagined which can] remains to
306	2	means of
	8	they] but they
307	9	that experience] the occurrence
	32	miracle of a Saint] report of a miracle
308	17-18	facts of history and biography] historical facts
309	17	own
	28	relic] curiosity
310	32	to a well] a well
311	4	Protestant’s] Protestant
	6	error
	20	the sense] the same sense
	23	in it



- 312 25-26 (that is, of course the professed miracle being not miraculous)] (which is an evasion from the force of any proof)
- 313 12-13 superseded] stopped
- 24 less<sup>4</sup>
- <sup>4</sup> *Vide* Note 2 at the end of the volume.
- 314 26 their] the
- 316 2 between them
- 3 relates to] is about
- 17 arguments about facts] cases
- 317 4-5 the Divine Revelation to the generation after them] to the next generation  
the divine revelation
- 13 to
- 16 they] men
- 21 among his tenantry
- 23 it was
- 318 3 the Catholic doctrine on the subject] it
- 17 he thought that to offer] and that
- 18-19 and that to demand it was a *reductio ad absurdum* of the person demanding
- 31 whether] whether possibly
- 33 possibly ... in part
- 319 3 are they] men are
- 4 letter-writing] writing
- 22 portions, exhibiting,] compositions, containing,
- 27-30 to receive an interpretation, and to make an impression, not in correspondence with the writer's intention, but according to the private principles and feelings of the reader.] to make an impression on him, not corresponding to the writer's intentions, but to his own principles and feelings.

320	3	surprised ... by] disappointed ... at
	4	speak
	7-8	in favour ... by their friends
321	17	own purposes] purposes
322	8	warrant] vouchers
	8	of what is Apostolic truth, on the one hand, and on the other, of what is] on the one hand, of Apostolic truth, and, on the other, of
323	32-33	“evasive and shuffling”] evasive and shuffling
324	1-2	“have never been told what their creed really is;”] have never been told what their creed really is
	4	“recent converts”] recent converts
	7	only passages from our writers] passages from our writers merely
325	9	those] the
	16	need] can
	20	testimony] witness
326	2	the man in question] an observer
	25	which was
327	26	need] want
	28	imposition] adoption
328	23	our
329	9	only lived] lived only
	11	in the objectors in question, to think that they know the Catholic faith, it is a second , to think that they can teach it to Catholics.] to think written documents sufficient, it is a second, as in this instance, to think Tradition too much. It is one mistake in the persons to whom I allude, to think they know the Catholic faith; a second to think they can teach it to us.
330	10	and tracts
	20	they are so voluminous] there is so much of them
331	6	is. Now, anything] is. By means of a few words he does wonders; like the Englishman in Sicily, who, when he could not get his mules by the

		appliance of all the Italian he could command, fair or rough, at last effected his purpose by shouting out at the pitch of his voice to his host, who had never heard a word of English in his life, "Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham." Anything
	13	however
	15	what in the world] the world what
	17	his] their
	19	stand in Reformation tracts] are
332	31	devotion] devotions
333	2	advance a step further] say more than this
	3	then, that, even] that
	4	can] could
	4	certain] a number
	6	without rising] but would rise
	10	has] had
	15-16	absolutely of conviction, but at least] of conviction simply, but
	20	diversity] variety
	24	after all
334	14	excellence] excellences
	23-24	an absolute hero] a hero
	25	holy
	27	and] yet
335	3	mere
	3-4	such a work] a work like this
	5-6	cannot refrain asking you candidly] can hardly refrain to ask
336	5	legend] story
	27	teach] say
339	4	in reference to them in print] about them



	10	No
	12	far
	20	certain] small
	25	that thus
	26	they
	30	not
340	29	instruct them in the actual meaning of his "texts" ... ,so] tell them what his "text" ... actually did mean, so
	31-32	go on maintaining and proving, that we were really] continue to maintain and to prove that we were
	33	testify] tell them
341	10-11	this sort of
	21	wrong] so bad
	22	in which before now I have participated myself] for before now I have participated in them myself
342	6	hold friendly intercourse with] go among
	22	as in the case of Scripture
	26	the Catholic religion is] Catholics are
	27-28	myself wish] wish myself
343	26	superhuman] blasphemous
	28	fallible] imperfect
344	9-10	gain from God what she desires by the medium of prayer] gain any thing she desires by prayer
	10	regarded as] called
	12	considered] called
345	13	so] come
	16-17	for all her days of communion] in spite of her many communions
346	7-12	So again, innkeepers paint up, "Entertainment for man and horse;" they do not add the important words, "to those who can pay for it." Every

other private house in our streets has “Ring the bell” upon its door; that is, “if you have business within.”

12 again

15 as when we talk of the imposition of “penances.”

16-17 Now, in like manner, as to Indulgences, “to absolve from sin”] And in like manner “to absolve from sin” is a phrase which

18 First it may mean] Sometimes it means

19-20 next, it may mean] sometimes it means

22-26 Lecture.<sup>8</sup> Here, however, I am going to speak of the phrase in the former of these two sense - viz., as the remission of the *punishment* remaining *after* pardon of the sin. This is an indulgence; indulgence never is *absolution* or pardon itself.] Lecture. Now you know an Indulgence does one of these two things; it is either an *outward* reconciliation, or the remission of the *punishment* remaining after pardon of the sin; but it never is *absolution* or pardon itself.

<sup>8</sup> In Lecture III. This sense, however, is unusual; *vide* Ferraris, Biblioth., art. Indulg., App. § 6.

30 absolution, which they always presuppose] *pardon*, which they always presuppose or precede

347 2 Indulgence does] Indulgence<sup>8</sup> does

<sup>8</sup> *i.e.* Indulgence in the *second* of the two senses, which is the common one, of a remission of punishment. In the former sense, which is unusual (vid. Ferraris, Biblioth., art. Indulg., App. § 6.), it has been considered in Lecture III.

3 already

6 whatever they are] of whatever kind

348 1 kind

2 new

6 among other instances] for instance

15-16 thee, in the hour of death, that is, provided] thee, that is, in that case in which alone an Indulgence ever can avail, *i.e. provided* that

17 these] the

	19	it presupposes pardon
	24	be at least] simply be.
	25-26	confession, gained a new spirit, and was restored to God's favour.] confession, and gained a new spirit.
	32	certainly
349	4	that an ordinary layman] he
	6-7	that it is
	29	is] was
350	1	parchment] paper
	15-16	which is their own doing
351	9	out ... out
	12	be] had
	17	that
	23-24	a grant] the grant
	27	Confession is such.] such is Confession.
352	10	know
	26	now. <sup>2</sup>
		<sup>2</sup> P.339.
353	28	who, for <i>fear</i> of the Inquisition, did] who did, for <i>fear</i> of the Inquisition
354	5	antecedent proof] evidence
355	16	men] we
356	3-4	by myself
	4	have been] am
	6	some mere] the
	7	who had become a Protestant] doubting of Catholicism
	8	avowals] <i>word</i>



	11	matter of
357	6-7	the private judgment of these men] their private judgment
358	7	Protestants] it
359	16-17	that movement] it
362	28-31	<sup>3</sup> ... Mr.Capes returned to the Anglican Church in 1870, on occasion, I believe, of the definition by the Vatican Council of the Pope's Infallibility, but that change does not invalidate his testimony to matters of fact [Ed. 1872].
363	TITLE	LECTURE IX. <sup>4</sup>
		<sup>4</sup> Written in 1851 apropos of the events of that year.
364	5-6	in the case of those who, like you] as knowing you to be of their numbers who
	8	however
	9	that
	16	with] on
	19	with reference to it.
	31-32	this Elizabethan Protestantism] Protestantism, thus explained,
	33-	However, it is a tremendous power, and we are menaced by it;] Well I say we are menaced by this tremendous power
365	1	
	7	engaged upon] doing
	23	Elizabethan
367	18	the subject of] my subject in
368	1	might
	11	tyranny] injustice
	30-31	for fear of a moral infection
369	8	this or that as if] something as
	22	if

	23	just as are the principles] as such principles as
	28	has been made] is
370	17-18	Theorizing] Theory
	29	are convinced] become convinced, as they say,
371	19	about] of
372	21	becoming sure of] learning
	23	have been] are
373	11-14	I am not advocating, as you will see presently, anything rude in your bearing, or turbulent, or offensive; but first I would impress upon you the <i>end</i> you have to aim at.
	14	I say, must] then will
	29	us ... ourselves] them ... themselves
	30	we ... we] they ... they
374	5	one of
	6	his ... himself] their ... themselves
	11	should] to
	12-13	should absolutely] absolutely to
375	1	wrath] emotion
	16	perplexed] cold
	20	had at last] at last had
	31	cultivated
	33	into] to
376	15	need] call
378	21	treat] serve
	22	they treat
379	4	objects of such] marks for them
	10	obstinately] so obstinately

	28	so as to make it] to
380	27	be] lie
381	12-13	are born] arise
	13	last. <sup>5</sup> ] last. <sup>1</sup>
		<sup>5</sup> <i>Vide</i> the author's Oxford University Sermons, No.V.] <sup>1</sup> <i>Vide</i> the University Sermons of the Author, No.IV
	19	antecedents ... individuality] history ... distinctiveness
382	6	or of ... or of] or as ... or as
	7-8	the owners of them
	17	makes about me] says
	31	an editor's room] editors' studies
383	4	its being
	11-12	are able to
	13	to
	14	to
	27	any] the
384	5	upon] on
	25-26	solemnly denied it] denied it upon my word
385	20	in that case
	24	seen
	33	some] a few
386	22	as to] about
388	18	yourselves. Be] yourselves. Be true to yourselves, and success is in your hands. Be
	22	any
389	7	Apostolic] Apostolical
	13	be able to



	18	understand where] what
390	8-9	what their] what <i>they are</i> , <i>what their</i>
	17-18	so much ... that they can] enough ... to
	19	already
	30	keep in mind
	30	souls ... a soul
	32	the Catholic spirit] Catholicism
	33	the Church] it
391	1	rulers] rulers here
	3	to
	6	the Church] us
392	27	to persuade and succeed] of persuasions and success
	31	When men see this, they] men, when they see this
	32	they may] will make
393	22	by] with
394	1	is able to] will
	16	have never] never have
	28	nor am I at] I am not of
	29	when a man] which
395	7	Not every age is] Every age is not
	27	that
396	4	their age] theirs
	11	Christians] we
	18	fills it
	19	of
397	9	prowess] fruit
	11	to show

	20	unto] into
	31	such] those
398	13	of his faith
	23	then
	30-31	most recent] latest
400	12	be reminded that we may humbly trust] reflect that we may trust
	33	be "the heathen's jest,"] "Sit in the gate, and be the heathen's jest. / Silent and self-possessed,"
401	21	sagacious] profound
	28	and
402	15	were
	18-19	a best way ... it] better ways ... them
	20	what is called
	21	only] what happens to be
	22	other ways] others
403	8-9	desire and pray for ... that] do ... hope that
	12-13	that I may cheerfully] by leading me to
	13	anxiety] such anxiety
	15-16	with the confidence that no ... but will] and feel a sure confidence that such ... must
405	24	He adds this note: - ] NOTE <i>on the Extract</i> .
406- 407	12- 16	An objection ... <i>vid.</i> Lecture VII] NOTE <i>on p.</i> 107. The notice promised here, Lecture III., p.107, on the doctrine of Indulgences, in connection with Absolution, has been anticipated in Lecture VIII., pp.330-333.
407- 416	22- 23	NOTE II. The question ... ...JOHN H. NEWMAN."

*(b) Appendix 2: Newman's Preparatory Notes (D.5.16)*

*[Side 1]*

Lecture 5      This too shows their prejudice, viz  
Protestants do themselves what they accuse Catholics of.

This shows the different measure they give etc.

We have the boldness to avow what they deny yet do.

<absolving from allegiance>

1. Persecution - converts vid. my 2nd part of Essay on Persecution.

2 Establishment, Wesleyan Conference -

3 Lying - we say certain things are not lying.

4 Tracts accompanying the Bible

Now this is a kind of hypocrisy.

<on absolving from oaths as if Parliament didn't do so - Lord Brougham & Oath of allegiance, Coronation oath etc>

This will make 6 & 7

after Lecture 2

Lecture 6.      not understanding us    3. by keeping us at a distance

<about lying - mistaking absolution for approval - all we say is that for such things they will go to Purgatory>

1. Our Language. English & Latin - scandal - worship - merit - adoration & indulgences - "absolution for a week" - Waddington's mistake. form, matter, pure, implicit, equivocation

<Sculls for scullers.>

<mistake in medicine>

<Deipara

~~Superficial way he goes to Rome or dips into some books~~

~~Bishops quote "taking communion"~~

~~few communions in Catholic churches weekly>~~

3 us, as persons, if you knew us, you wd see we were men

<I have been a Protestant - why may I not bear witness of what I have found in the Church?>

our enemies dread us being known

<Ignatius saying black is white. Ignatius says he absolved from sin those who did not obey his rule. It is like absolving from a promise.>

We are few, & therefore as we grow, it will vanish

<4 We despair of convincing men withdraw into ourselves, & don't answer attacks>

<outlaws of public opinion you cannot act on us by it>

<5 They would see that we do believe & are not hypocrites>

<6. Or what would be our conduct etc if we believed; they do not put themselves in our place>

7. [bad and good mixed together in the Church - this is a separate Lecture or under Lecture 6?]



soldier tearing down Diocletian's edict.

<I have been drawing out an analysis of the circumstances under which we are hated, but I have not given the cause of it. It is not cause to say that there is prejudice and for [so] the question arises, Why is there prejudice?>

Lecture 7. A fulfilment of prophecy.

<Note of Church>

So vast a body, such numerous documents, yet what does this curious age know of us!  
vid Sermon preached May 18.

< You will say there must be something bad to be talked against. I don't go into this now, but I say, Observe, it was prophesied of,>

In middle ages Goths, Saracens, Danes, Albigenses

<Bide thou thy time>

now supposing we believe as we say, is not  
our conduct accounted for? a plot - Hume - Ld J.Russell

[Side 2]

fierceness of theological odium

Hoddy doddy

on the impossible mysterious power, [?] successful

something mean and narrow in system etc.

~~Bide thou thy time~~ When [?] is full & for us

<Every system has weak points. Or fixing on one point.>

<Or what wd be our conduct etc supposing we believed our doctrines, e.g. about believing in miracles>

<"they can't believe">

<or carrying out our doctrines - Dr.W. on realising.>

Lecture 8.

They can't believe we believe  
so they think us hypocrites

The Bully Demagogue

We the outlaws of public opinion

Three large objections

<a revelation>

(infallibility

not, |

(private judgment)

1. to doctrine - exclusiveness, - it would be humbug if it were

| if a revelation, no private judgment

<a code of duty.

2. to practice a social system - lying

<a political power>

3. to system of discipline <government> - persecution

or personal  
social

<Or persecution i.e. our defending the constitution>

persecution - this  
why it is just what you do yourselves - except  
in the middle ages the Ruler [?/] believed what he pro-  
-fessed, now you do not. You enforce the will  
of man.

Lecture 1. Lion & man

<next how this kept up>

2. Mumpsimus

3. Prejudice

~~4. on not being understood~~

~~5. want of educa. to defend ourselves~~

6

4. Next why we don't interfere

First we are put down

<here will come in the Bully Demagogue - Punch etc. Outlaws of public opinion>

5. We are kept from education

6. we are not understood - kept at a distance etc.

7. subject continued

These the primâ facie grounds - but let us go on to enquire what are the real grounds.

~~1. hatred of mystery & above board is good, but it runs into arrogance against God~~

~~2. love of independence      interference - a new power coming in~~

~~3. love of system, method neatness etc etc & that Englishmen should do it.~~

~~4. want of faith~~

<but these are moral grounds more than intellectual>

Lecture on the position of things

All going one way or other    Atheism or Cathsm

<Puseyite evasions [?/]>

Leibnitz etc etc    Nothing else has any root

Lecture 14. On how Men must proceed who wish to know if Cathsm is true. On continuing to seek - to do what you can etc. etc.

The following lists the variants of the D5.5 MS from the First Edition (1851). Where the MS pencil or ink emendation is shown as *[deletion]* this indicates that the words in MS ink have been cancelled in pencil or ink respectively. Some of the MS ink emendations appear to have been made in response to the pencil emendations and others in the course of the original composition. Where the final column is blank, the words were omitted in the First Edition.

<i>MS page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>MS ink original</i>	<i>MS pencil emendation</i>	<i>MS ink emendation</i>	<i>First Edition</i>
1	9-10	despised as Jews, and hated worse than Turks,	<i>[deletion]</i>		
2	1	as if we were, beyond a doubt,			as if beyond a doubt, we were
	6	inquiry	inquiring		inquiring
	6	are not	<i>[deletion]</i>	do not become	are not
	6-8	in spite of all we have to say on our behalf, for no one can be “convinced against his will;”	<i>[deletion]</i>		
3	2	on the present occasion	just now	<i>[deletion]</i>	just now
	2-3	justifying my own	<i>[deletion]</i> myself	defending ourselves	defending myself



	4	inquire	investigate		investigate
	5	spit upon			
	14	wants	<i>[deletion]</i>	needs	needs
4	1	more perplexed we well may be			greater may well be our perplexity
	1-2	that it does not make quicker way in this country	<i>[deletion]</i>		
	3	that its arguments go for nothing	<i>[deletion]</i> in the country	but	in this country
	5	to be	<i>[deletion]</i> to lie		to lie
	7-8	It becomes		<i>[deletion]</i> Such a state	Such a state
	9	intellect			reason
	10	which finds itself unable to solve it.	from the difficulty of solving it.		from the difficulty of solving it.
	12	for being			because it is
5	2		long		long
	3-4	statues and paintings	<i>[deletion]</i> specimens of sculpture and painting		specimens of sculpture and painting
	4	works		work	work
	7	passed along	<i>[deletion]</i>  stalked by		stalked by
	13	to	<i>[deletion]</i> of		to
	13			from politeness	from politeness
	14	insensible	<i>[deletion]</i>		insensible

			unaware		
	14	various			diverse
6	3		and the lion was but a fool & made [?] him sport		and the lion was but a fool, and served to make him sport
	4	studies	<i>[deletion]</i>		works
			works		
	15	of	<i>[deletion]</i> from		from
7	5	was	<i>[deletion]</i> stood		stood
	13	paws		feet	paws
	13	turned (?)	<del>melted into</del> fell away into	<i>[deletion]</i> took	fell away into
8	2	with	<i>[deletion]</i>		holding
			holding		
	3		lions regardant		lions regardant
	4	in short		<i>[deletion]</i> there were	there were
	5		of misconception		of misconception
	7	surveyed the whole	<i>[deletion]</i>	gone over the whole mansion	gone over the whole mansion
	9	and the lion		<i>[deletion]</i> and he	and he
9	4	represented	<i>[deletion]</i>	sculptured	sculptured
	13		we know		we know
	14	considering just	going on ... to		going on just

		now when	the question		now to the
					question
	15	question not to	point ... my		question not to
		the			my
10	2	question	<i>[deletion]</i>		dispute
			dispute		
	3	with	<i>[deletion]</i> supported by		<i>supported by</i>
	4-5	is ... is	<i>is ... is</i>		is ... is
	6		at all		at all
	7	hears	<i>[deletion]</i>		listens
			listens		
	7	Protestant arguments	[Protestant]ism <i>[deletion]</i>		Protestantism
	7-8	Protestants			Protestantism
	8	very	<i>[deletion]</i> very		very
	14			at the bar of	at the bar of
				justice	justice
11	6	was said	<i>[deletion]</i>	has been	is said
			reported		
	7-8	the poetry of Byron	<i>[deletion]</i> celebrated poet		a celebrated poet
	9	may ...when		<i>[deletion]</i> will ... if	will ... if
	9-10	exclude all that can be said against it	include all that can be said for it and exclude		if you read all that can be said for it, and exclude all that can be said against it



11	is	<i>[deletion]</i> comes to pass that so many men	(as I may say)	comes to pass, that every one (as I may say)
12	way of thinking	<i>[deletion]</i> sphere of ideas and method of thought		sphere of ideas and method of thought
12	in	<i>[deletion]</i>		as to
13	He considers	Unless he is a philosopher, he will be apt to		Unless he is a philosopher, he will be apt to consider
12	1 despises others	right, and to		right, and to despise others
	2 thought	<i>[deletion]</i>  opinion		opinion
	6	especially		especially
	8 varied	<i>[deletion]</i>		resources
	refinements	resources		
	9	for certain		for certain
	11 An ordinary person is in no position <del>condition</del>		<i>[deletion]</i> Taking men as they are commonly found, they are not equal to	Taking men as they are commonly found, they are not equal to
	12- is another		which is the	which is the
	13			

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### 1. PRIMARY

#### *(a) Archive Material at the Birmingham Oratory*

##### I. D.5.5

[MS of part of Lecture I, from beginning to 'say for itself' - 12 pages. See Textual Appendix 3]

##### II. D.5.16. [Papers under front cover headed in Newman's handwriting '1851 Position of Catholics in England Preparatory Work']

1. [Double sided sheet of notes in Newman's handwriting, beginning 'Lecture 5'. See Appendix 2]
2. [Double sided sheet of notes in Newman's handwriting - one half Blackstone references; other half headed 'June 27. for Lecture 4.']
3. [Letter to Newman from William Perkins about the Hornes case]
4. [Letter to Newman from M.Mahon about *Maria Monk*]
5. [Letter to Newman from D.Lewis enclosing the contents page and a quotation from *The Poor Man's Preservative against Popery.*]
6. [Sheet containing extract from Mosheim on St.Eligius]
7. [Sheet containing extract from Dublin annals about the destruction of the statue of King William]
8. [Pamphlet] *A Lecture Delivered at the Guildhall, Bath, On Monday, Dec.2, 1850, on the recent Papal Aggression by the Rev.M.Herbert Seymour.* Bath: M.A.Pocock, Bridge Street; and all booksellers. Price Threepence.
9. [Pamphlet] *Opinion of Protestant Divines, and others, respecting Babylon, Antichrist, and the Dragon.*

10. [Pamphlet] *Religion, Life and property in Danger. Extracts from Mr.Hamilton's Account of the Alarming Spread of Infidelity and Vice through Christendom.* [n.d]
11. [Pamphlet] *Heathen Ceremonies adopted by The Church of Rome.* The Religious Tract Society, instituted 1799; 56, Paternoster Row. No.219.
12. [Pamphlet] *A Lecture on Popery delivered by the Rev.Dr.Cooke at Belfast on Tuesday, Dec.3, 1850.* Seeleys, Fleet Street, and Hanover Street, London: MDCCCLI.

III. D.17.10 [Pamphlet]

*The Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the British Society for Promoting the Religious Principles of the Reformation with the Anniversary Sermon preached at Portman Chapel, Baker Street, On Wednesday, May 14, 1851, By the Rev.J.C.Ryle, M.A., Rector of Helvingham, Suffolk.* London, 1851.

IV. D.17.11 [Pamphlet]

*Evangelical Alliance. British Organisation. Abstract of the proceedings of the Fourth Annual Conference, held in Liverpool, October 1850; with The Annual Report presented to the conference and a list of members.* London 1850.

V. D.17.12 [Pamphlet]

*The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Protestant Association, May 14, 1851.*

VI. [Pamphlet]

*The Pulpit. No. 1,506. March 7, 1850. Price 3d. The Speeches delivered by the Rev.Dr.Achilli and the Rev.Dr.Steane, At a Public Meeting of Evangelical Christians, held in Exeter Hall, this day, March 7, to receive and welcome the Rev.Dr.Achilli on his liberation from imprisonment by the Inquisition at Rome.*



## VII. Sermons and Tracts 26.

*The British Protestant. No.LXII. February, 1850.* [contains the extracts from the Journal of a Protestant Scripture Reader' quoted by Newman in Lecture VI.]

## VIII. Sermons and Tracts 27.

1. *Publications of the Birmingham Protestant Association No.II. The Secret oath and a Translation of the Secret Instructions of the Order of Jesuits with a Slight Sketch of the Society and the principles and Actions of Its Members. Second Edition, With an Appendix, Containing A Brief History of the Order and Its Founder, By a Lay Member of the Birmingham Protestant Association.* Birmingham: Thomas Ragg, 90, High Street, 1849.
2. *Publications of the Birmingham Protestant Association No.3. An Answer to a Layman's Challenge to the Church of England, printed by M.Maher, Congress Street. By a lay Member of the English Church. To which is added a Challenge to the members of the church of Rome.* Birmingham: Thomas Ragg, 1848.
3. *Publications of the Birmingham Protestant Association No.4. Who Rules In Ireland? The Pope or Queen Victoria? By The Editor of the "Sunday Times". Re-published by permission from the Editorial Columns of that paper for Nov.5, 1848.* Birmingham: Thomas Ragg, 1848.

## IX. Scrapbook B2.1.

1. Newspaper cutting written across (in Newman's handwriting) 'Times Monday June 9th 1851' beginning; 'It is the practice, as our readers are aware, in Roman catholic countries for the clergy to post up a list ...' (see Lecture III).
2. Unsourced newspaper cutting about St.Peter's chair in Rome, Lady Morgan and Denon (see Lecture VI).

3. Newspaper cuttings, all headed 'To the Editor of Aris's Gazette', of correspondence on the subject of Maria Monk between Josiah Allport and Fr. John Gordon of the Birmingham Oratory (see Lecture IV).
4. Newspaper cuttings, all headed 'To the Editor of Aris's Gazette', of correspondence on the subject of intention between Samuel Minton and Fr. Ambrose St. John of the Birmingham Oratory (arising out of Newman's discussion the ex-priest Blanco White in Lecture I).
5. Unsourced newspaper cuttings (but referring to the Morning Herald) of a correspondence between Mr. R. B. Seeley and Newman arising from Newman's discussion of Blanco White in Lecture IV.
6. Unsourced newspaper cutting giving an account of the public meeting at which Bishop Ullathorne thanked Newman for the *Present Position* lectures.
7. Unsourced newspaper cutting written on (in Newman's handwriting) 'Sept 1851', headed 'Dr. Newman on Romanism or Atheism. (From the *Times*).' referring to the above report of the public meeting and attacking the lectures.
8. Unsourced newspaper cutting headed 'Melancholy Case of Mental Aberration' quoting from Lecture VII.
9. Unsourced newspaper cutting of a hostile review of the lectures (see Introduction p.119).

*(b) Newman Works:*

Editions of *Lecture on the Present Position of Catholics in England* as given in the Introduction, Section IV. The Text, Composition and revision.

*An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* (Burns, Oates & Co., London, 1870).

- An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, The Edition of 1845, ed.J.M.Cameron, (Penguin, London, 1974).
- Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (Fontana, London 1959 edn.).
- Autobiographical Writings*, ed.H.Tristram (London, 1956).
- British Critic* articles:
- ‘Elliott’s Travels’ (April, 1839), Vol.XXV, 305-20.
- ‘Exeter Hall’ (July, 1838), Vol.XXIV, 190-211.
- Callista. A Sketch of the Third Century* (Burns & Oates, London, 1962 edn).
- Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching*, Vols I and II, (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1888 edn.).
- Discussions and Arguments on Various Subjects* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1918 edn.)
- Essays Critical and Historical*, Vols I and II, (Longmans, Green & Co., London 1890 edn.).
- Fifteen Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford* (S.P.C.K., London, 1970 edn.).
- Loss and Gain: the Story of a Convert* (Burns, Oates & Co., London, 1876 edn.).
- Parochial and Plain Sermons*, Vols.I-VIII (Longmans, London, 1886)
- Sermons Preached on Various Occasions* (Burns & Oates, London, 1881).
- The Idea of a University* (Longmans, London, 1905 edn.).
- Two Essays on Biblical and Ecclesiastical Miracles* (Longmans, 1924)
- Verses on Various Occasions* (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1890 edn.)
- The Via Media of the Anglican Church*, Vols.I and II (Longmans, London, 1885)
- The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, Volumes XIV- XV, ed.Dessain, Charles Stephen, and Blehl, Vincent Ferrer, S.J. (Nelson, 1963-4).



(c) Other contemporary sources not included among (a):

[CAPES, J.M.], 'Newman's Lectures on the Position of Catholics in England', *The Rambler*, Vol.VIII, November 1851, Part XLVII.

BRONTE, Charlotte, *Villette* (1850), Worlds Classics Edn, London, 1906.

DICKENS, Charles, *Barnaby Rudge* (1841), Oxford, 1950 edn.

- *Nicholas Nickleby* (1839), Oxford 1950 edn.

- *Our Mutual Friend* (1865), World's Classics edn., 1989.

EVANS, John, *A Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World*, London, 1814.

HAIGHT, George S., *The George Eliot Letters*, Vol.I, New Haven, Connecticut, 1954.

HARE, Julius Charles, *The Contest with Rome*, London, 1852.

*Punch*, 1850-1.

*The Times*, 1850-1.

[WARD, W.G.] 'Dr.Newman's Lectures', *The Dublin Review*, No.XIII.

## 2. SECONDARY

BARRY, William, *Cardinal Newman*, London 1904, revised edition 1927.

BIRRELL, Augustine, *Res Judicatae*, London, 1892.

BLEHL, Vincent Ferrer, S.J., *John Henry Newman: A Bibliographical Catalogue of His Writings*, Univ. of Virginia, 1978.

BOEKRAAD, A.J., *The Personal Conquest of Truth According to J.H.Newman*, Louvain, 1955.

BOSSY, John, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850*, London, 1975.

BURGIS, Nina F., *An Edition of Newman's Tamworth Reading Room with introduction and textual and expository apparatus*, [unpublished London University M.A. thesis, 1964].

CAMERON, J.H., *John Henry Newman*, British Council, London, 1956.

CHADWICK, Owen, *Newman*, Oxford, 1983.

- *The Victorian Church, Part I 1829-59*, London, 1966, 3rd edn. 1971.

CHESTERTON, Cecil, 'The Art of Controversy: Macaulay, Huxley and Newman', *The Catholic World*, July 1917, No.68, 446-456.

CLARKSON, EDWARDS, KELLY & WELCH, *The Church Teaches. Documents of the Church in English Translation*, St.Louis & London, 1955  
BLEHL, Vincent Ferrer, S.J., *John Henry Newman: A Bibliographical Catalogue of His Writings*, Univ. of Virginia, 1978.

COCKSHUT, A.O.J., 'The Literary and Historical Significance of the *Present Position of Catholics*', *Newman after a Hundred Years*, ed.Ker, I., and Hill, A.G., Oxford, 1990.

DE LAURA, David J., *Hebrew and Hellene in Victorian England*, London, 1969.

(ed.) - *Victorian Prose. A guide to research*, New York, 1973.

FLETCHER, J.S., *A Short Life of Cardinal Newman*, London, 1890.

FRANDSEN, Carl F., *A Rhetorical Analysis of John Henry Cardinal Newman's Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England*, [unpublished City University of New York Ph.D. diss., 1975].

GILLEY, Sheridan, *Newman and his Age*, London, 1990.

GRIFFIN, John R., *A Historical Commentary on the Major Catholic Works of Cardinal Newman*, New York, 1993.

HARROLD, Charles Frederick, *John Henry Newman. An Expository and Critical Study of His Mind, Thought and Art*, Connecticut, 1945, 1966.

HIGHET, Gilbert, *The Anatomy of Satire*, London, 1962.

HOLLOWAY, John, *The Victorian Sage*, London, 1953.

HUTTON, Richard, H., *Cardinal Newman*, London, 1891.

JENNINGS, Henry J., *Cardinal Newman: the Story of his Life*, Birmingham, 1882.

KER, Ian, *John Henry Newman. A Biography*, Oxford, 1990.

- *The Achievement of John Henry Newman*, London, 1990.



- 'Newman the Satirist', *Newman after a Hundred Years*, ed. Ker, I., and Hill, A.G., Oxford, 1990.
- LEYS, M.D.R., *Catholics in England 1559-1829. A Social History*, London, 1961.
- MACHIN, G.I.T., *The Catholic Question in English Politics 1820 to 1830*, Oxford, 1964.
- MACHIN, G.I.T., *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832-1868*, Oxford, 1977.
- MAISON, Margaret, *Search Your Soul, Eustace*, London and New York, 1961.
- MATHEW, David, *Catholicism in England*, London, 1955.
- MUECKE, D.C., *The Compass of Irony*, London, 1969.
- MURPHY, M., *Blanco White, Self-exiled Spaniard*, New Haven & London, 1989.
- NEWMAN, Bertram, *Cardinal Newman. A Biographical and Literary Study*, London, 1925.
- NOCKLES, Peter Benedict, *The Oxford Movement in Context. Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857*, Cambridge, 1994.
- NORMAN, E.R., *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, New York, 1968.
- OLDCASTLE, JOHN, *Cardinal Newman: A Monograph*, London, 1890.
- PAZ, D.G., *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, Stanford, 1992.
- REILLY, Joseph, J, Ph.D., *Newman as a Man of Letters*, New York, 1925.
- ROSS, T.Elliott, *John Henry Newman*, London, 1933.
- SWETON-WATSON, Hugh, *The Russian Empire 1801-1917*, Oxford, 1967
- TARDIVEL, Fernande, *La Personnalité Littéraire de Newman*, Paris, 1937.
- TENNYSON, G.B., 'Removing the Veil: Newman as a Literary Artist', *Critical Essays. John Henry Newman*, ed. Block, E., English Literary Studies, University of Victoria, 1992.
- THUREAU-DANGIN, Paul, *La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre en XIXe Siecle*, Paris, 1903.
- TILLOTSON, G., 'Newman the Writer', *Mid-Victorian Studies*, ed. Tillotson G. and K., London, 1965.
- TREVOR, Meriol, *Newman. The Pillar of the Cloud*, London, 1962.



TRISTRAM, Henry, *Newman and his Friends*, London, 1933.

VARGISH, Thomas, *Newman. The Contemplation of Mind*, Oxford, 1970.

VOLGHERA, J.D. [English Version by Philip Herford], *Newman's Apologetic*, London, 1928.

WARD, Maisie, *Young Mr. Newman*, London, 1948.

WARD, Wilfrid, *Last Lectures*, London, 1918.

- *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, London, 1912.

WALGRAVE, J.H., *Newman's beschrijving en verantwoording van het werkelijk denken*, T.P. [*Tijdschrift voor Philosophie* (Leuven-Utrecht)], 1939.

WATKIN, E.I., *Roman Catholicism in England from the Reformation to 1950*, London, 1957.

WHALEN, David M., *The Consolation of Rhetoric. John Henry Newman and the Realism of Personalist Thought.*, San Francisco, 1994.

WOLFF, Robert Lee, *Gains and Losses. Novels of Faith and Doubt in Victorian England*, New York, 1977.

WOLFFE, John, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain*, Oxford, 1991.

YOUNG, G.M.& HANDCOCK, W.D. (Ed.), *English Historical Documents*, Vol.XII (I).

### 3. REFERENCE

*[These were so many and so various, and some were consulted just for one fact or date, that only the principal ones are listed here.]*

Addis & Arnold (ed), *A Catholic Dictionary* (15th Edn., London 1951)

Attwater, D. (ed.), *A Dictionary of Saints* (Harmondsworth, 1965)

Brewer, E.C., *A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (London, n.d.; also on-line version

<http://www.bibliomania.com/Reference/PhraseAndFable/data/979.html>)

Coulson, J. (ed.), *The Saints. A Concise Biographical Dictionary* (New York, 1960).

Cruden, A., *A Concordance to the Old and New Testament* (London, 1889); also biblical

search engine: <http://www.olivetree.com/cgi-bin/EnglishBible>

Smith, W.G., *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Second Edn., rev. Harvey, P., Oxford, 1948).

*The Cambridge History of English Literature* (15 vols., Cambridge, 1907-27).

*The Catholic Dictionary* (1917, on-line edition, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/>)

*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Literature*, (Second Edn., revsd. Eagle, D, Oxford, 1970).

*The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vols. 1-22, (London 1888-1902).

*The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, (Third Edn., Oxford, 1979).

*The Oxford English Dictionary* (Compact Edn., Oxford 1971).

# Volume 2 restricted access